



**Community as 'Learnt Capacity':
The Lived Experience of Filipino and Indian Residents
in Masterplanned Estates**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone; the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award; the content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program; any editorial work, paid or unpaid, carried out by a third party is acknowledged; and, ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the experience of community by migrants living in Masterplanned Estates (MPEs) in Australia. These planned social environments draw on specific conceptualisations of community that differ considerably to the social meanings and practices associated with community in other cultures. The research is based on a case study focusing on residents from a Filipino or Indian background living in MPEs located in Wyndham on the urban fringe of Melbourne.

Masterplanned Estates have become an established way to develop new residential land in Australia. This thesis argues that the premise of community-building underpinning MPEs needs to be critically assessed as it may have restrictive outcomes and compete with diverging aspirations of residents, particularly migrants. Findings show that for participants the MPE is not necessarily the primary locality for socialising; rather, home-centred activities or those related to Filipino or Indian groups in Wyndham have more importance. Nevertheless, as emerging places MPEs are perceived to be more accommodating of cultural diversity, enabling migrants to be part of shaping the local community. In their acculturation to this planned social environment participants are modifying their aspirations towards community with strategies and outcomes varying individually. The findings emphasise that adaptation is a process that imposes challenges and behavioural shifts to other conceptualisations of community. Yet, having experienced previously more socially interactive environments can be empowering for migrants to enable diverse forms of community to evolve. By drawing-on these multiple perspectives on community participants are enhancing the social fabric of MPEs and shaping these developing places specifically.

The thesis concludes that community is a learning process and previous experiences create a capacity to be involved in a particular social environment. This understanding of community as a 'learnt capacity' can enable social environments to unfold the potential of communities in socially inclusive ways.

*“To feel happy about yourself,
You must feel happy about the place you live in.
To feel happy about the place you live in,
You must get to know that place.
To get to know that place,
You must ask the people who have lived there the longest,
The Aboriginal people.”*

(Monty Pryor & Meme McDonald (1998): Maybe Tomorrow)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	Abstract	iii
	Acknowledgements	v
	List of Abbreviations	x
	List of Figures	xi
	List of Tables	xii
	Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1	Masterplanned Estates, Community and Cultural Diversity	1
1.2	Research Questions	3
1.3	Significance of Research	3
1.4	Structure of Thesis	5
	Chapter 2: Literature Review	9
2.1	Cultural Diversity and Community in Masterplanned Estates	9
2.2	Masterplanned Estates	10
	2.2.1 Definition of Masterplanned Estates	10
	2.2.2 Characteristics of Masterplanned Estates	11
	2.2.3 'Sense of Community' in Masterplanned Estates	13
2.3	Concepts of Community	15
	2.3.1 Perspectives on Community	15
	2.3.2 Community as Localised Experience	17
	2.3.3 Ambivalent Effects of Community	19
2.4	Adaptation Processes of Migrants	21
	2.4.1 Strategies and Outcomes of Acculturation	21
	2.4.2 Role of Community for Adaptation Processes	24
2.5	Devising Community as 'Learnt Capacity'	25
	Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design	27
3.1	Overview	27
3.2	Methodology	28
	3.2.1 Methodological Perspective	28
	3.2.2 Case-Study Approach	30
3.3	Research Design	32
	3.3.1 Recruitment of Participants	32
	3.3.2 Data Collection	33
	3.3.3 Analysis of Data	36
3.4	Reflection on Data Collection	37
	3.4.1 Process of Recruitment	37
	3.4.2 Reflection on Social Role	38

Chapter 4: Case Study		41
4.1	Selection and Description of Case Study	41
4.2	Social Profile of Indian and Filipino Migrants	42
	4.2.1 Settlement of Migrants in Metropolitan Melbourne	42
	4.2.2 Settlement of Indian Migrants	44
	4.2.3 Settlement of Filipino Migrants	47
	4.2.4 Selection of Indian and Filipino Residents	51
4.3	Development of Wyndham	52
4.4	Development of Wyndham Gardens Estate	59
4.5	Demographic Profile of Cohort	61
Chapter 5: Everyday Life and Experiences of Community		65
5.1	Experience of Community in Different Social Realms	65
5.2	Everyday Life in the Estate: Experiences of Community	66
	5.2.1 Diverse Role of Estate for Everyday Life	66
	5.2.2 'Sense of Community'	70
	5.2.3 Places of Recognition and Cultural Diversity	71
5.3	Community in the Private Realm	73
	5.3.1 Situating the Private Realm	73
	5.3.2 Social Role of the House	73
	5.3.3 Home-Ownership and Settlement	76
	5.3.4 Intersection of the House with the Neighbourhood	77
5.4	Cultural Diversity in Wyndham: The Public Realm	79
	5.4.1 Role of the Public Realm	79
	5.4.2 Indian Groups in Wyndham	80
	5.4.3 Filipino Groups in Wyndham	82
	5.4.4 Commonalities and Differences	83
	5.4.5 Role of Social Networks	85
	5.4.6 Public Realm as Additional Layer	86
5.5	Community Between the Parochial, Private and Public Realms	88
Chapter 6: Acculturation to a Planned Social Environment		89
6.1	Addressing Processes of Adaptation	89
6.2	Reflection on Differences to the Philippines and India	90
6.3	Acculturation Strategies	93
	6.3.1 Diverging Individual Experiences	93
	6.3.2 Acculturative Stress	95
	6.3.3 Adaptation as a Process	97
6.4	Maintaining Cultural Practices	99
6.5	Modification of Community Experiences	101

Chapter 7: Community as ‘Learnt Capacity’	103
7.1 Addressing ‘Learnt Capacity’	103
7.2 Community as Learning Process	104
7.2.1 Previous Experiences as Socially Enabling	104
7.2.2 Multiple Perspectives as Empowering	105
7.3 Community as Capacity	108
7.3.1 Participation in the Social Environment	108
7.3.2 Shaping the Environment of Masterplanned Estates	110
7.4 Concept of ‘Learnt Capacity’	112
Chapter 8: Conclusion	113
8.1 Reflection on Study	113
8.2 Contribution to Knowledge	119
8.3 Implications for Policy and Practice	121
Bibliography	125
Appendices	139
1 List of Publications	139
2 Ethics Approval	140
3 Participant Information and Consent Form	141
4 Participation Flyer	145
5 Summary of Findings for Participants	146

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
et al.	Et alia (English: and others)
etc.	Et cetera (English: and so forth)
ibid.	Ibidem (English: in the same source)
i.e	Id est (English: that is)
IRSAD	Index for Relative Socio-Economic Advantage and Disadvantage
LGA	Local Government Area
MPC	Masterplanned Community
MPE	Masterplanned Estate
p.	Page
RMIT	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
SA2	Statistical Area Level 2
SEIFA	Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas
WGE	Wyndham Gardens Estate

LIST OF FIGURES

	Title	Page
1	Acculturation Strategies	22
2	Proportion of Overseas-Born Residents in Melbourne 2011	42
3	Increase in Overseas-Born Residents in Melbourne (2006 – 2011)	42
4	Number of Residents of Indian Origin in Melbourne 2011	46
5	Increase in Residents from an Indian Origin in Melbourne (2006 – 2011)	46
6	Number of Residents from a Filipino Origin in Melbourne 2011	49
7	Increase in Residents from a Filipino Origin in Melbourne (2006 – 2011)	49
8	Location of Wyndham	52
9	SEIFA 2011 – IRSAD LGA	56
10	SEIFA 2011 – IRSAD SA2	56
11	Urban Growth Area of Wyndham	57
12	Typical Masterplan of a MPE	59

LIST OF TABLES

	Title	Page
1	Interviews with Residents	33
2	Interviews with Community Leaders	34
3	Immersion in Field	35
4	Increase in Overseas-Born Residents in Victoria	42
5	Main Overseas Countries of Birth in Victoria	43
6	Social Profile of Indian-Born Residents	44
7	Social Profile of Indian-Born Residents	46
8	Social Profile of Filipino-Born Residents	48
9	Social Profile of Filipino-Born Residents	50
10	Social Profile of Wyndham	53
11	Housing Profile of Wyndham	55
11	Population Growth in Main Suburbs of Wyndham	58
12	Demographic Profile of Participants	61
13	Household Profile of Participants	63

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Masterplanned Estates, Community and Cultural Diversity

In Australia, the term 'Masterplanned Estate' (MPE) has been coined to refer to the more holistic planning adopted by private developers around a comprehensive masterplan (Thompson 2013). MPEs are characterised as larger-scale residential developments, i.e. a planned site containing its own infrastructure and multiple lots of houses, mainly located on greenfield sites on the suburban fringe of Australia's metropolitan cities. A distinguishing feature of MPEs is that social infrastructure is incorporated in the design to promote and create community in the form of a close-knit neighbourhood (Minnery & Bajracharya 1999). However, these normative and marketed idealised forms do not accurately reflect the everyday life of residents (Cheshire, Walters & Wickes 2010). Rather, it is questionable how far planning has the capacity to determine social outcomes and what scope developers have in this regard.

MPEs can be placed within a larger typology of planned housing estates, which have become a world-wide phenomenon in developing new residential land. A characteristic feature of these developments is that in addition to providing housing and physical infrastructure they seek to integrate social objectives and communal interests. This broadly emulates ideas of place-making and theories of New Urbanism, which argue that a sense of belonging and local interaction can be created through urban design, density of public places and social facilities (Katz 1994; Sandercock 1998). A variety of terms have been established describing these planned housing estates creating distinctive social and material environments. For example, Gated Communities have extensively emerged in places, such as Latin America, South-East Asia and the US, in which discourses around security, safety and class distinction are regarded as central issues of urban life (Glasze, Webster & Frantz 2006).

The promise of creating a spatially confined community can have problematic outcomes by diminishing the role of residents and dissolving interaction, trust and solidarity between them. They compete with evolving forms of community that are (re-)constituted by their members and invoke sharing, mutual care and responsibilities (Bauman 2001). From this perspective, community is a process that draws on and encompasses diverse social practices and is expressed in a variety of forms. Being part of a community therefore has a more profound meaning than being involved in a social group with common interests or material attachments (Sennett 1970). Building on these ideas, this thesis refers to community as a meaningful process of socialising between residents, grounded in shared places, creating a sense of belonging. Accordingly, this particular idea of community implies that people draw on divergent aspirations and diverse backgrounds. While narratives of community espoused by MPE advocates also adopt discourses of sharing and belonging, these are part of a simplified idea of community, one that risks restricting or oppressing non-aligning practices of new residents (Mulligan 2015).

Culture represents a coherent system of meanings expressed in beliefs, practices and regulating social relations (Burayidi 2000; Parekh 2000). Hence, in places and societies characterised by cultural pluralism, broader conceptualisations of community are essential to create socially inclusive

environments. As cultures can be expressed differently, they facilitate diverging forms of community that evolve in relation to the social environment. This is especially prominent for migrant and minority cultures that constantly redefine their relationship to society, as well as influence it (Castles & Miller 2003).

With international migration increasing, Australia and other Western societies have become more culturally diverse (Fincher et al. 2014). This thesis addresses the experience of residents with migratory backgrounds, for whom community may have different social meanings and imply other social practices. The project focuses on MPEs located in Wyndham, which is a major urban growth area on the fringe of metropolitan Melbourne. Residents from a Filipino and Indian background represent two significant migrant groups who have mostly settled in Australia rather recently. The use of a case-study approach enables the research to distinguish the adaptation process of migrants towards community situated in a specific social environment. This topic of investigation has significant importance for community and urban development in Australia since MPEs have become a dominant feature of residential provision. Moreover, migration is contributing significantly to housing demand and MPEs are a key site for migrant settlement (ABS 2016b; Walters & Rosenblatt 2008).

This thesis critiques the simplistic narrative of creating community that is the focal point of the marketing and development of MPEs. Rather, MPEs are distinguishable places for everyday encounters of residents that have migrated to Australia, for whom community can imply diverging meanings and be expressed in other forms. For these residents, the aforementioned simplistic notions impose the danger of restricting non-appropriate norms or practices. By drawing on less deterministic conceptualisations of community, MPEs may enable the recognition of cultural difference and integration of various expectations. This may facilitate the creation of more inclusive, socially cohesive places. To achieve this goal, a deeper understanding is needed of the expectations towards the community of residents of MPEs that have migrated to Australia and possibly grew up with other forms of community. This thesis addresses this gap in knowledge by analysing the lived experiences of migrants and their process of adaptation towards perceived conceptualisations of community in their new social environment.

The following chapter presents the aim of the research and the primary research questions that have guided the thesis. To qualify this intention, the subsequent section highlights the significance of the research. The chapter concludes by presenting the further structure of the thesis and the objectives of the corresponding chapters.

1.2 Research Questions

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate how experiences of community are shaped in specific social environments that could constitute a 'learnt capacity'. To address this objective, the thesis explores the relationship between the conceptualisation of community held by developers of MPEs and the lived experience of Indian and Filipino residents. The thesis draws upon the theories of Zygmunt Bauman (2000, 2001), reviewing the role of community in modern society and processes of adaptation by migrants settling in a new social environment by John W. Berry (1992, 1997, 2006).

The thesis postulates that experiences and aspirations towards community are embedded in the cultural background of migrants, which becomes particularly relevant when they encounter a new social environment. In contrast to previous experiences, community may have a different social meaning and have varying implications in terms of appropriate social practices. To elaborate and analyse these premises in depth, the thesis addresses the following primary research questions:

- 1) How do migrants from a Filipino or Indian background living in Masterplanned Estates experience community?
- 2) Through which processes of adaptation have migrants modified their aspirations to community?
- 3) In what ways do previous experiences influence the ability to engage in communities? What are the implications for policy and planning?

1.3 Significance of Research

To situate the significance of this thesis, this section addresses the intersection between the development of MPEs, migration to Australia, and the experience of community. As a highly culturally diverse society, Australia has a long-standing history of migrants from various cultural backgrounds arriving in different waves (Colic-Peisker 2011). Until the 1970s, immigration policies led to the prioritisation of migrants from Europe. This approach changed in 1979, shifting the emphasis to the selection of skilled immigrants instead of being based on the country of origin. With this shift in policy, more people have been migrating from diverse backgrounds and Australia has become an increasingly multicultural society (Babacan & Gopalkrishnan 2016; Fincher et al. 2014). In 2016, almost a third of Australia's population was born overseas and more than half of all residents have at least one parent with a migrant background (ABS 2016a). Although the United Kingdom and New Zealand remain the main overseas countries of origin, the largest recent increase in migrants is from Asian countries, such as India and the Philippines. These migrants have been settling disproportionately in the urban growth areas of metropolitan Melbourne and other major cities. For many new migrant groups, these outer municipalities have become the main location of residency (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2015). As these urban growth areas are predominantly

developed in the form of MPEs, migrants have been found to constitute a significant proportion of their residents (Nicholls, Phelan & Maller 2017),

Since the 1980s, MPEs have become an established form of place-making in the contemporary context of urban planning and are now a widely adopted form of constructing new residential areas in Australia (Kenna, Goodman & Stevenson 2017). Their development on the urban fringe follows the urban growth trajectory of Australia that has been characterised by suburbanisation since post-World War II (Davison 1995; Hamnett & Freestone 2000). This suburban development is based on the provision of detached houses with home ownership the preferred form of tenure (Stilwell 1993). Despite policies, such as Melbourne 2030 or Plan Melbourne, emphasising urban consolidation and setting up growth boundaries, the major part of new housing construction remains located on the urban fringe (Buxton & Tieman 2004; Dalton & Nelson 2015). Responding to continuing housing demand, traditional ways of subdividing land and selling houses has been replaced by more holistic forms of masterplanning (Dodson 2012). By integrating social infrastructure and urban design features, MPEs provide completely packaged environments (Freestone 2010). Yet, the practice of developing residential land in a planned form involving an appeal to communal ideals has a long pedigree in Australia, for example as in the Garden Cities movement beginning of the 20th century (Cheshire, Walters & Wickes 2010). Distinguishing features in the development of MPEs to these former housing estates are the marketed vision of the creation of a local community, the holistic approach of place-making by private companies and the preoccupation with safety discourses. Hence, MPEs represent a continuity of developing residential land in Australia as well as providing new techniques.

Research has shown that developers target specific markets or types of residents and promote particular lifestyles in MPEs; thus they are not typically planned for 'marginalised' groups (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013; Wood, D 2002) and do not incorporate culturally diverse understandings of community (Pusey 2003). Aspirations for community are likely to differ amongst residents of MPEs. For some, the notion of a local community may be seen as an additional amenity that is provided as a 'buy-in' to the neighbourhood and does not require any broader social engagement (Dowling, Atkinson & McGuirk 2010; Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). Yet, other residents may seek or expect more than just a 'sense of community', and intend or expect to build meaningful social relationships and being involved locally. This aspiration has been found to be related to previous engagements in lively communities as well as the lack thereof (Nicholls, Maller & Phelan 2017). Although past research has investigated expectations of residents towards the idea of community, residents' previous experiences of community and the role this plays in individual aspirations and social expectations of local communities needs further consideration (Williams & Pocock 2010). This is particularly true in regard to residents from migrant backgrounds, who can comprise nearly half of home-buyers in MPEs (Nicholls, Maller & Phelan 2017).

Coming from diverse cultural backgrounds, the aspirations of migrants may differ markedly from dominant Anglo-Australian conceptions of community (Warr & Robson 2013). Integrating diverse expectations and responding to various needs can foster cultural recognition in a way that encourages diverse practices in a cohesive society. Emphasising the social mix of a place on its own, however, is inadequate to create inclusive places (Amin 2002). Rather, social inclusion is based on the recognition of cultural diversity as contributing equally to society by establishing social

relationships based on mutual understanding and trust (Babacan & Babacan 2013). For MPEs to evolve, embracing cultural diversity and enabling migrants to shape the environment, understanding their conceptualisation of community takes on a pivotal role. Gaining an understanding of the experiences of community for migrants settling in MPEs is therefore a key gap in knowledge.

Since it shapes people's lives and affects social inclusion, the concept of community has retained its currency. Involvement in communities can enable individuals to have confidence in interacting with their surrounding (Jacobs 2011). The idea of community as a warrant of certainty and security is especially prevalent in a world that has been characterised as 'insecure' and 'full of risk' (Bauman 2001; Beck 2012). This thesis postulates that for migrants this conceptualisation of community as an object of hope can have two-fold consequences. On the one hand, this promise of belonging may be especially intriguing, since the process of adapting towards new social environments implies uncertainty and creates vulnerability. On the other hand, the creation of stability in the community is built upon notions of unity and sameness. Such communities may be exclusionary, where migrants may be labelled as 'strangers to be feared' (Sandercock 2003). Therefore, implementation of community is essential, since on its own it is not necessarily a key resource for cultural understanding (Amin 2002). This is particularly the case if community is commodified as one cohesive entity, as it is in the case of MPEs. Not only does this reference to a locally based coherent community prove to be a romanticised myth, but it also imposes the danger of enforcing norms or patterns of behaviour. Thus it can end up being an oppressive and restrictive concept (Mulligan 2015).

For migrants, elements of fear may prevent proactive engagement in their social environment and feelings of insecurity can impede their acculturation. However, migrants are not only reactive to imposed values in their adaptation process, but also shape actively their relationship to the wider society (Colic-Peisker 2008). Hence, homogenising forms of communities can lead to segregative responses of migrants that can involve retreating into 'ethnic enclaves' or the clustering in 'affinity environments' (Friedmann 2005). Thus, community does not only hold positive connotations of providing a sense of belonging, but as well may have ambiguous outcomes. The concept of community and its implementation therefore need to be viewed critically (Bauman 2001).

1.4 Structure of Thesis

The literature review in chapter 2 provides a theoretical background and framework for the study to devise 'community as a learnt capacity'. It begins by defining the characteristics of MPEs more closely and describes how these residential developments focus on the narrative of community building. Drawing on discourses around community building, the emergent literature exploring diverse needs of residents from various cultural backgrounds, as well as comprehending the integration of community structures beyond an individual estate, shows how such processes have been insufficiently considered. It is within this gap in knowledge that this chapter articulates and emphasises the topic as the incentive for the research project. Building upon this critical view of

MPEs, theoretical approaches to ideas of community are reviewed in order to develop a perspective on applying the concept for the thesis. This review details the ways in which community may consist of more than merely people being involved in a social group, and how simplified notions of community pose the danger of oppression and exclusion. In doing this, the research draws in particular upon the theories of Bauman (2001) to demonstrate the search for community in modern society and its attraction for place-making. A final section of the literature review chapter examines aspects of cultural diversity and settlement in a new social environment. Moving to a new country implies more than a spatial relocation as it involves settling and adjusting to a new society. Building on ideas of Berry's (1992, 1997) concept of acculturation, an individual's ability to adapt to other social environments is emphasised.

The research design and the underlying methodology of the thesis are presented in chapter 3. Drawing on a constructivist perspective, the research is based on the assumption that the experience of community is constructed by individuals' social interactions and they can reflect on their aspirations and involvement in communities. In order to analyse the lived experience of residents, the chapter considers different methodological approaches and argues that a case study informed by a focused ethnographic approach is the most appropriate method to achieve this objective. Building upon the methodology, the research design section presents the recruitment of participants, data collection and the analysis of the data. The chapter finishes by reflecting critically on the process of the recruitment and the social role of the researcher in the field.

Chapter 4 explains the rationale for selecting residents from a Filipino and Indian cultural background living in MPEs located in Wyndham. The social profile of both groups highlights that these have specific demographic characteristics distinguishing them from other residents. The chapter argues that residents from Filipino and Indian backgrounds have been selected as these represent rather recent migrant groups in Australia with the outer growth areas being the main place of residency in metropolitan Melbourne. Wyndham is one of the fastest growing urban areas in Australia and a significant proportion of new residential land is being developed in the form of MPEs. Besides other MPEs in Wyndham a specific focus is on Wyndham Gardens Estate as an exemplary case-study. To provide the necessary background, the urban development, population growth and policies targeting cultural diversity in Wyndham are discussed. The chapter concludes by illustrating the demographic profile of the cohort.

Building on this knowledge, chapter 5 addresses the first research question by analysing the experience of community by the participants. By arguing that different spatial scales can perform divergently in the public, parochial and private realms, the findings show that the everyday life and social involvement of participants differs from the conceptualisation of the idea of building a local cohesive community in MPEs. The chapter illustrates that the cohort has distinct aspirations towards community and their migrant background influences their experience in the new social environment.

Referring to previous experiences of community by participants, chapter 6 addresses the second research question by evaluating the adaptation processes. The main finding is that the new social environment of living in a MPE requires an adjustment of behaviours as participants shift their practices in communities between the different realms. In accordance with the literature on acculturation, the study demonstrates that participants are maintaining cultural practices and

adapting to other forms of community in Australian society. In this process, acculturation strategies and outcomes vary between individuals. In focusing on the dynamics of this process, the study addresses a theme that has been insufficiently considered in the Australian context. By providing an in-depth understanding of migrants' adaptation processes and through this, their meaning of community in the environment of a MPE, the thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge.

Drawing on the adaptation processes, chapter 7 argues that social meanings and practices associated with community vary between different social environments. The third research question aims at devising a new perspective on community as 'learnt capacity'. The first part of the chapter refers to the learning process in communities, which are shaped by previous experiences and enable participants to draw on multiple perspectives. These acquired skills form a capacity that facilitates participants to be involved in specific forms of communities. This relates to adjusting to new forms of community as well as forming the ability to shape the social environment. The chapter argues that this modification of practices to diverging forms of community can be conceptualised as a 'learnt capacity'.

The conclusion in chapter 8 reflects upon the research by relating the findings to the initial objectives and existing literature in the according field. Drawing on this reflection, the chapter discusses the main contributions to knowledge, the limitations of the research, as well as the outlook for further enquiries. The chapter concludes by illustrating implications for policy and practice that have arisen out of the thesis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Cultural Diversity and Community in Masterplanned Estates

This chapter discusses the term community in its utilisation in the development of MPEs. By reviewing critical sociological perspectives on community, the chapter argues that it can be an ambiguous concept, which nevertheless can have importance as a localised experience. Furthermore, it can have severe implications for the acculturation of migrants to create a sense of belonging, but also as a concept that imposes assimilatory objectives.

The chapter begins with a deliberation on the use of the term MPE in the Australian context and the characteristics of these residential developments. Based on narratives of place-making and community-building, the discussion shows that developers intend to create distinctive estates by marketing and incorporating specific design features and facilities. These objectives influence the social environment of MPEs and community is arguably produced as a social code and value system. This process has been discussed critically in the Australian academic context by focusing on the role of this form of community for residents of MPEs (Dowling, Atkinson & McGuirk 2010; Richards 1990; Tewari & Beynon 2017). In charting this criticism of community-building, part 2.2.1 aims at developing a workable definition for the term community, particularly as the literature review shows that no comprehensive definition has emerged despite its wide usage. Community is viewed in this thesis as having enabling as well as constraining effects and thus should be treated critically, particularly in social environments that are characterised by diverse aspirations. This argument is based upon theories by Bauman (2001) analysing the role of community in modern society.

Not only does the social environment influence possible practices of community members, but it shapes their surroundings as well. The next section 2.4.3 emphasises that settling in a new country is a long-term process of getting accustomed to new behaviours and norms. Drawing on theories from Berry (1992, 1997) on acculturation, settling in a new place can be understood as a learning process requiring behavioural shifts. Yet, integration is a two-sided process, dependent on migrants as well as the social environment.

The chapter concludes by proposing that community can take on diverse social meanings in different cultural contexts. For migrants, their background may be influential, enabling certain practices as well as requiring the acquisition of new ones. This adaptation process balances between the maintenance of cultural identities and establishing relationships to society. The thesis aims to investigate community as 'learnt capacity' with the empirical study described in chapter 7 designed to explore this in detail.

2.2 Masterplanned Estates

2.2.1 Definition of Masterplanned Estates

The incorporation of ideas of place-making and community-building within larger scaled residential development has led to the coining of the term 'Masterplanned Estate' in Australia. In accordance with the diversity and range of residential estates on offer, no over-arching definition has yet been established (Minnery & Bajracharya 1999). In some cases, the term 'Masterplanned Communities' is applied, although it remains unclear how the two terms differ. McGuirk et al. (2007) have addressed this issue by using a fuzzy borderline and distinguishing the different types of masterplanning and community-building on a spectrum according to their intensity. In their understanding, a 'Masterplanned Community' is an estate with a greater degree of community-building. This thesis uses the broader term 'Masterplanned Estates', since it remains highly unclear when a residential development may be regarded as a 'Masterplanned Community' and when not. Despite the lack of clarity in definition of terms, these estates can all be said to be constituted by common features.

MPEs are, in general, holistically planned residential estates built by a private sector developer (Walters & Rosenblatt 2008). Although multiple stakeholders, such as local governments and the original land owners, can be involved in the planning process, the venture is primarily driven by private land-developing companies or consortia (Bajracharya & Khan 2010) who have the initial vision for the individual estate and are the main actors in regard to implementation. Governments at both the state and local level are mainly involved in zoning land for future use, providing building and planning regulation, and setting up wider strategic plans. Although these mechanisms provide the framework for the development and establish a basis for negotiations with the developers for their intended plan, governments ultimately have a limited role in regard to the development of an individual estate in its details (Minnery & Bajracharya 1999).

The development process is initiated and detailed through a comprehensive masterplan defining and marking the outline and structure of the future place. Often the construction occurs as a long-term process with the residential land being released over several stages and the additional infrastructure set up accordingly. During all of the development phases, the land developer retains an active role in managing and governing the estate. Only after completion of the project, for example, when the last or most of the lots are sold, is the responsibility for maintaining the infrastructure transferred to the local council and the developer withdraws (Cheshire et al. 2009). Therefore, the function and influence of private land developers includes not only the initial planning, but also the on-going management of the estate. In this sense, the role of the developers goes beyond planning to be an on-going stakeholder to facilitate the community building process of the estate.

2.2.2 Characteristics of Masterplanned Estates

Developers focus on different features across MPEs and, moreover, MPEs vary in size. Some estates consist of a couple of hundred houses, whereas others are planned to have more than 20,000 residents living there. As these developments require a larger area of land, they are in most cases located on greenfield sites on the urban fringe (McGuirk & Dowling 2007). With MPEs becoming a prevalent form of suburban development, they have been structuring the outskirts of Australia's capital cities. In Melbourne, the construction of multiple estates in the growth areas of the metropolitan fringe is dominating the urban composition of whole outer municipalities. Although MPEs have mainly been created on greenfield sites, they are not confined to the metropolitan fringe with some estates being developed within inner city locations as urban renewal projects of former industrial areas or brownfield sites (Kenna 2007). What distinguishes these estates from more traditional residential developments and suburban structures is the incorporation of ideas of place-making and community-building led by private developers (Walters & Rosenblatt 2008).

The individual estates are set apart and distinguished as 'unique' places through promoting and establishing certain features. As the developers are involved until all or most of the allotments within the individual estates are sold, marketing is an essential element of their activities. Themes of community, security, a particular lifestyle, and environmental features are often emphasised in the marketing materials (Goodman, Douglas & Babacan 2010; Wood, D 2002). The notion of community is incorporated in the way that MPEs are advertised as 'liveable' and 'thriving places' in which a 'ready-made' community is existent: "[...] there will be a community of potential friends awaiting the purchaser" (Goodman & Douglas 2008, p. 454). These conceptions build upon references to close-knit neighbourhoods with residents living together in traditional 'village' settings, in which social interaction is portrayed to occur in the parochial realm. In relation to the idea of community, discourses around safety and security are promoted. The marketing material may display the possibilities for young families to live in a neighbourhood where children can play in a variety of outdoor areas within a safe environment. Therefore, these estates are set apart from their spatial surroundings by providing a haven for families (Cheshire, Walters & Wickes 2010). These notions of security are further emphasised through maintaining physical barriers, such as gates to main entrances or surrounding walls, or highlighting symbolic measures of surveillance (McKenzie 2006).

In addition to these commonly applied notions, developers try to differentiate their specific estates from other developments. Through promoting unique features, a certain clientele in specific life-styles or life-stages is targeted as potential purchasers (Williams & Pocock 2010). The marketing material may be designed, for example, towards young parents or elderly people, whereas life-styles as images of class and status may be captured through notions in regard to environmental values, certain activities and amenities or aesthetics appeals. Not only are these features part of the marketing of the developer, but are manifested in the built environment of the specific MPE.

Distinct boundaries and unique urban design give the individual estate a visible image with the aim of fostering a recognisable place identity. Even though gated communities are not common in Australia and thus most MPEs are publicly accessible, physical landscaping gives them a 'meaningful psychological boundary' (Kenna 2007). This kind of distinction is in some cases created through internal street networks with only a limited number of access roads connecting the estate with the

outer area. This allows the development to have main entrances, which identify the particular MPE as a distinct entity with an allocated name to it. The names of estates are usually derived from natural features. Terms such as 'grove', 'lakes' or 'springs' are therefore attributed to the name of the estate (Wood, D 2002). This naming identifies not only the individual MPE, but as well marks it as a planned development. In addition to distinguishing the estate from its spatial surroundings, the integration of uniform design features and landscaping aims at creating an internal coherence and achieving a higher standard of living (Cheshire, Walters & Wickes 2010; Johnson 2010). The landscaping process may include providing additional natural features, such as lakes or gardens, to the built environment, as well as planning the entire development around open spaces. The developer is also active in regulating the design of residential houses by setting up specific design guidelines; the architecture and aesthetics of houses are pre-defined.

In addition to urban design and place-making approaches, the essential feature of MPEs is the incorporation of social infrastructure in a deliberate community-building process led by the developers. This facilitation of forming local community ties has become a 'core business of property developers' (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009, p. 128). By planning the estate around open spaces, such as parks, walking trails or sports fields, face-to-face interaction between residents should be enhanced by creating an attractive environment. Likewise, providing a range of social facilities within the individual estate is usually an integral part of the masterplan. Such facilities may include basic social infrastructures catering for the needs of different residents, like kindergartens, schools, aged care centres or recreational facilities, but as well embrace community centres, which provide spaces and programmes for social activities.

In many cases, the developer is an on-going facilitator of the community-building process. With the establishment of sales-offices, developers are the initial contact point in the purchasing process for potential residents. After residents have moved in to their new dwelling, some developers cater for welcoming sessions or provide information packages, which may include details on various local community groups. Furthermore, social interactions are fostered by community development programs designed by the developers. This may comprise sponsoring local events or groups, setting-up web-based community portals, or distributing a regular newsletter (Gwther 2005; Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). Overall, the developer remains highly visible through publicising events and advertising the process of development publicly (Richards 1990).

Besides the initial engagement of the developers, private governance structures, in the form of voluntary residents associations as well as formalised owner corporations consisting of elected residents or external consultants, are set up in a range of MPEs to administer common property, carry out maintenance and set up covenants (Goodman & Douglas 2008; McGuirk & Dowling 2011). In this sense, initial arrangements remain valid even after the developer is no longer responsible for the estate. These covenants can incorporate notions of acceptable civil behaviour, expectations of residents towards maintaining their property and guidelines for urban design of houses. Thus, the community-building process initiated by the developers goes beyond the establishment of social and physical infrastructure, but encapsulates an enabling and constraining vision for the individual estate.

2.2.3 'Sense of Community' in Masterplanned Estates

The narrative of community-building as a social code and value system, and the effects of its integration into the concept of masterplanning a residential area have been debated in Australia (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013; Thompson 2013; Warr & Robson 2013). MPEs are critically viewed as sites of privatisation in which non-government actors determine the development of urban areas as an expression of neoliberalism (McGuirk & Dowling 2009). This is regarded as problematic as the public realm is undermined by the influence of private developers. In terms of external implications, MPEs have been accused of creating exclusive, privately owned places leading to social fragmentation, spatial segregation and thus endangering social equity and cohesion (Blandy & Lister 2005; Gleeson 2002; Kenna, Goodman & Stevenson 2017).

As some estates are developed around particular lifestyles or aesthetics, residents from a certain background may be specifically attracted to them. With amenities or facilities being provided in some cases for the exclusive use of members, these places can be separated from their spatial surroundings. Even though not all estates are targeting upper classes and the market is diversified in attracting residents from various backgrounds, the main focus of the developer is to sell properties to home owners. Therefore, the people who are moving to these estates are generally those who can afford to purchase a dwelling, and have the desire to do so (Kenna 2007). These places may be different to the surroundings in terms of the socio-economic composition of the population, as these neighbouring areas may be characterised by a higher degree of people renting or having lived there for a longer period of time.

The way in which community has been implemented by developers has been disputed (Gleeson 2004; Richards 1990; Rosenblatt 2005). In contrast to the place-based visions of creating a community in a spatially confined neighbourhood, it has been argued that the connection between residents and their experience of community is more complex (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). For the residents, the immediate neighbourhood may only play a minor role in their social life, as friends or involvements in communities may be spatially dispersed with the place of residency merely providing a centre for home-based social activities. In this sense, providing social facilities or setting up neighbourhood events does not guarantee extensive local social interactions. However, considering the geographic location of MPEs, at least the possibility for neighbourhood interaction is present. In contrast to previous housing estates, MPEs are typically located in outer suburban locations with limited employment possibilities and access to public transport. This mechanism of including ideas of 'community' into physical planning procedures has enabled social infrastructures and services to be provided in a suburban setting in which these would otherwise be insufficiently catered for. Thus it has been argued that MPEs provide better social outcomes than traditional suburban developments (Johnson 2010; Thompson 2013). But, with the creation of a community being the marketed target of the developer, its implementation must be scrutinised in more depth than merely justifying its achievements in comparison to plain land and property developments. Therefore, considering criticism of the internal and external effects of MPEs is essential because they are shaping significantly the urban structure and social environment of these emerging places.

Although the idea of community is marketed as an essential part of a MPE, residents move there for a range of reasons, mostly related to home ownership. The way community is built is assessed to be commodified with a high dependency on the developer and gives the residents the feeling of 'buying into' a community (Dowling, Atkinson & McGuirk 2010; Frantz, Webster & Glasze 2006). As the main reason to move to a MPE, people state that their choice of building and purchasing a dwelling has been constrained by the affordability of their desired house (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). With land being more affordable on the urban fringe of metropolitan areas and MPE being a prevailing feature of providing new residential areas, purchasing a property in an estate is perceived to be the only feasible option (Maller & Nicholls 2014; Warr & Robson 2013). Despite this, the narratives of the MPEs can influence the decision of residents to move there. With some estates being developed and advertised around certain lifestyles, amenities or their exclusive appeal, residents buy into these for prestigious reasons in order to express themselves and secure their property value (Blandy & Lister 2005; Walters & Rosenblatt 2008). With other residents being perceived to have a similar background, or simply as people being able to afford a house and seeking a stable family life, a 'good' neighbourhood is secured. As well, local facilities or social programmes are seen as a further asset to the place and possibilities of social interaction are regarded to be beneficial. Yet, the perceived availability of facilities can be more important than the actual use of them (Dowling, Atkinson & McGuirk 2010).

In this sense, residents' desire to interact in the planned idea of community is based rather on their voluntary choice of participating, and their ability to do so, than their aspiration of actively contributing to regular activities. The established 'sense of community' is therefore more conceptual and imagined instead of being constituted by local social involvement of residents, for whom 'community' is made and provided by somebody else (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013; Goodman & Douglas 2010). This does not imply that the local neighbourhood has become obsolete for residents. Some residents moving to MPEs do express interest in having local connections based on previous experiences of strong neighbourhood ties or the lack thereof (Nicholls, Maller & Phelan 2017; Tewari & Beynon 2017). But the intention of being more involved in communities does not necessarily relate to active engagement as other commitments, such as time spent commuting or with the family, constrain the possibilities for more intense social bonding (Nicholls, Phelan & Maller 2017). Therefore, the narrative of building a local community in a MPE does not necessarily establish more than a 'sense of community' or achieve more pronounced local social interactions by residents. However, the question lies in how far more intense community ties are constrained by either residents' unwillingness to actively contribute locally, the time to do so, the specific conceptualisation of the community 'commodified' by the developer, or the suburban setting of MPEs.

2.3 Concepts of Community

2.3.1 Perspectives on Community

“It feels good: whatever the word ‘community’ may mean, [...]” (Bauman 2001, p. 1). As an unspecific, positively connoted term, the concept of building and creating communities is being adopted in various contexts. Despite these diverse applications, from a sociological standpoint community implies more than just an aggregate of individuals being socially connected or a group of people living in a place in a set territory and given time (Sennett 1970). Rather, it can take on diverse meanings in different contexts representing a more complex social phenomenon. All forms of communities do not simply come into existence, but manifest themselves through being created (Mulligan 2015). In other words, communities are constantly constructed and reconstructed.

In its everyday usage, the meaning of community is seemingly taken for granted without the need to define what is meant more precisely. This misleading implementation may relate to it being treated as merely a synonym for ‘people living in an area’ (Healey 1997). As an imprecise and positively connoted term, it is easily adopted in political discourses, allowing policies to seem beneficial without the need to make definite statements. Such an ‘abuse of the word’ makes it seem empty and shallow, so that community does not mean anything anymore (Mulligan 2015; Tesoriero 2010).

However, the term community is utilised in a wide range of connotations based on shared social attributes, such as religion, ethnicity or class, interests or social practices (Bounds 2004; Ziller 2004). Despite its vagueness as a ‘slippery term’, community is used in a variety of disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology and sociology, and thus must refer to something (Amit 2002). In the social sciences, it has not been possible to replace community with more accurate concepts distinguishing the multiplicity of its meanings from its superficial everyday usages (Mulligan 2015). Looking at the historical development, it has been loaded with multiple intertwined meanings (Avineri & De-Shalit 1992; Esposito 2010). The etymology of the term originates from the Greek ‘koinonia’ and ‘communitas’ in Latin. The first part of the Latin term ‘common’ relates to things that are public belonging to many. The second part ‘munus’ is traceable to the idea of an obligatory gift: “[...] the *munus* that the *communitas* shares is not a property or a possession. It is not having but, on the contrary, is a debt, a pledge, a gift that is to be given, and that therefore will establish a lack. The subjects of community are united by an ‘obligation’, in the sense we say ‘I owe *you* something, but not ‘you owe *me* something’” (Esposito 2010, p. 6). From this perspective, the function of community is not only based on a shared place or attachment, but as well on a binding responsibility to constantly contribute. This organically created bond between individuals is emphasised by Toennies (1935) in his seminal distinction between community [Gemeinschaft] and society [Gesellschaft] in the shift to modernity. This sociological conceptualisation of community characterises it as permanently experienced shared cohesive entity, which has multiple facets and is part of everyday life, whereas, society is artificially established as a temporary construct in the public realm (ibid).

This distinction of community provides a background for current understandings and the emotive resonance to the term. Linked to the nostalgic idylls of village life, it resembles a critique of modern urban structures and a longing for a pre-modern past, although this was certainly less idyllic and

therefore presents more as a romanticised myth (Bell & Newby 1971; Bertels 1990). The breaking up of traditional social ways of life, globalisation and processes of individualisation in Western society have affected the way community is comprehended and integrated into everyday life. The erosion of social connectedness and involvement of people has led to a long-term discussion about the waning and loss of community (Putnam 2000). This discourse proposes that modern urban life has led to social alienation limiting and weakening local ties. Hence, the role of place-based communities for social interaction is diminishing (Etzioni 2004; Friedmann 2005). Accordingly, Webber (1963) coined the notion of 'community without propinquity', suggesting that social relationships in modern society are not spatially bound. In this modern world, therefore, new kinds of community are emerging that are rather communicatively constructed creating a more fragile and imaginary form (Delanty 2010).

However, even though community is becoming multifaceted with diverse projected and grounded forms making localities for socialising less important, people do not live in spaceless realms (Fischer 1982). Spatial references, like neighbourhoods, remain part of everyday life and communities can be constructed based on these. As outlined by Bauman (2001), the concept of community has experienced a revival precisely because of this loss of belonging to a place, which shall be discussed in more detail in the following section. Far from being obsolete, the idea of community is still prevalent and has experienced a resurgence in political and social debates (Delanty 2010).

As argued, the term community is more complex than merely referring to a social group and invokes multiple meanings, images and emotions. Instead of being a static social phenomenon, communities are constantly (re-)constructed. Based on this assertion, Sandercock and Attili (2009) advocate for a perspective in which communities develop as a productive process of social interactions shaped by their members. Similarly, the work of Cohen (1985) emphasises the symbolic construction of community. He argues that communities evolve around specific meanings and are expressed in certain ways. Hence, communities differ from each other, shaping the social environment for their members. Within their experience, people acquire the understanding of the functioning and meaning of their community. "Community, therefore, is where one learns and continues to practice how to 'be social'" (Cohen 1985, p. 15).

The thesis draws on these notions of community being created through social interaction in varying cultural contexts. The aim of applying the term community for the following research is to develop a perspective to analyse the diverse lived experiences and social meanings associated with communities. As the lens of the study is on conceptualisations of community in MPEs, the focus is on place-based forms of community. Without discounting other forms and meanings, for the purposes of this thesis, community is defined as a meaningful process of socialising between residents, grounded in shared places creating a sense of belonging.

2.3.2 Community as Localised Experience

Based on meaningful social relationships and a shared sense of belonging, local residential areas, such as neighbourhoods, can contribute to the formation of *grounded* communities, where street level encounters are enabled that shape the lived experience of their members (Mulligan 2015). The configuration and social construction of these grounded communities influences their development. A particular notion of these grounded communities depends upon particular cultural traditional notions of families, roles and links between them. The breaking up of such traditional forms of community has led to more complex social relationships that are expressed in different social realms.

In his seminal paper, Hunter (1985) distinguishes three different social realms; private, parochial and public. They are formed distinctively through the intensity of social interaction. From the private to the public social realm the sentiment and the mutual knowledge between members decreases and the obligations to contribute to common objectives also decrease. Building upon this framework, Lofland (1989b) characterises the private realm through intimate ties located in households and personal networks, while the parochial realm is constituted by a sense of commonality between acquaintances and neighbours. Urban areas in which other people tend to be unknown are embodied in the public realm. Besides their functional role, the realms are associated with certain spaces referring to the social interaction happening in them. “While, theoretically, any realm can appear anywhere, empirically, certain environments tend to anchor specific realms [...]” (Kusenbach 2006, p. 280).

The parochial realm in residential areas like neighbourhoods provides the possibility for residents to engage with each other derived from shared interests, including those concerning the development of the place (Farahani 2016). Living in spatial proximity to other residents can lead to encounters between them and bring people from different backgrounds together. These informal social interactions can create familiarity between residents. Based on ‘weak ties’ between residents the likelihood of stronger affiliations and closer relationships developing is increased, as argued by Granovetter (1973). In the first place, these ties do not necessarily emerge because of personal affiliations, but for the common attachment to the neighbourhood leading to a stronger civic participation. A key reason for this engagement can be to achieve feelings of safety and security (Kusenbach 2006). This has been linked to ‘good neighbouring’, inducing better health and quality of life as well as lower crime rates (Plas & Lewis 1996). By referring to a specific place, grounded communities can support a sense of belonging by establishing a spatial identity.

This potential of the parochial realm is seized by ideas of place-making and theories of New Urbanism which provide the conceptual background for the development of MPEs. One central aspect of these estates is that through various urban design interventions the use of non-private areas by residents can be enhanced, aiming at strengthening their sense of community (Katz 1994). Within this view, place-making approaches promote their ability to create communities in the parochial realm by integrating social objectives as key features of new residential developments. However, these assumptions are criticised to portray a deterministic relationship between the built environment and establishment of a local community (Talen 1999; Winstanley, Thorns & Perkins 2003). Even though urban design interventions can increase the likelihood of encounters, this does

not necessarily imply that residents engage locally and establish meaningful social relationships. Without such encounters, neighbourhoods are merely collections of households rather than constituting a community. Hence, spatial closeness on its own does not imply community engagement (Sandercock 1998). Other factors are seen to be equally important for communities to develop, such as the length of residence, commuting patterns, homeownership, household structures and homogeneity of residents (Talen 1999).

Instead of being only situated in the parochial realm, grounded communities can be constituted in the private as well as public realm. Related to the neighbourhood, the private realm of the house shapes the lived experience of community. Thereby, 'home' is created by the fusion of the physicality of the dwelling and the social unit of the household (Easthope 2004; Jacobs & Malpas 2013). Through providing spaces for socialising with visitors, the house can become a relevant site for social interaction and the formation of communities. Establishing these connections to others creates a sense of belonging (Blunt & Dowling 2006). Home-based socialising is not limited to the actual house, but can extend to include the spatial surroundings, although the way houses are constructed shapes social relationships within the immediate neighbourhood. Within Australian society, the traditional social role of the home is foremost to enable individualism and provide privacy (Pusey 2003). In this setting, houses are distinct to the parochial and public realms and function mostly as closed private spaces for social interaction. In contrast, grounded communities associated with the public realm do not primarily draw on the social interaction of their members, but on the shared sense of space. Rather, people experience and interact with others as citizens that are personally unknown in the spatial domain of the public realm (Hunter 1985). Besides being a spatial reference for grounded communities, public spaces can be temporarily appropriated for social activities and take on a parochial character.

Even though community in many cases is associated with the parochial realm situated in the neighbourhood, the local lived experience can be expressed in various social realms. The relationship between grounded communities and places is not fixed to a certain realm as, for example, neighbourhood contacts can become more personal, transcending the boundaries of the parochial realm (Kusenbach 2006). Through this intersection, social realms do not have definite boundaries and are mutually interdependent (Hunter 1985), although spatial settings can encourage or discourage certain interactions within a social realm. As a result, lived experience can shift to different social realms (re-) constituting these (Lofland 1989a). Thus, grounded communities can be situated in varying social realms and represent a dynamic social phenomenon.

2.3.3 Ambivalent Effects of Community

Community is more than merely a concept of the abstract world of academic theories and debates, but is part of the social world and people's lived experience. The social meanings and relations established in communities can have considerable positive effects for their members and whole societies. On the other hand, inherently embedded in all communities is a 'dark side', in which inclusion can turn to exclusion and enabling practices can become restrictive to others (Mulligan 2015). Therefore, the implementation of communities and the overall concept need to be critically viewed. Building upon the work of Bauman (2001, 2011), the following section argues that, in particular for migrants, community can have ambivalent effects.

From a communitarian perspective, being part of some kind of community is seen to be essential for people to achieve their full social constitution, and is thus a human need (Etzioni 2004). In this regard, communal attachments can foster a sense of belonging, provide a basis for identity, and create emotive connections (Plas & Lewis 1996). Having these relations empowers people to participate and build social relationships, sustaining trust, solidarity and reciprocity within a community. Being a member can have enabling and inclusionary effects in the form of shared responsibilities and mutual care to a common cause (Bruhn 2011; Studdert 2005). Expressed in neighbourhoods, more meaningful social contacts can create a feeling of home and security. Drawing on these factors, feeling connected to a community can have positive effects on health and well-being (Farahani 2016), whereas the absence of community can lead to a feeling of detachment, powerlessness and social isolation (Baum 1997; Etzioni 2004). In addition to the lived experiences within communities, as projected forms they can be imaginary.

It is in this context that Zygmunt Bauman (2001) depicts that community is commonly seen as a notion of hope for individuals seeking stability in continuously changing circumstances in a modern world, a condition he has termed 'liquid modernity' (2000). This dream of community is based on simplified and idealised visions of the past. For Bauman this is connected to the 'liquid modernity': "[...] 'community' stands for the kind of world, which is not, regrettably, available to us - but which we would clearly wish to inhabit and which we hope to repossess" (2001, p. 3). Therefore, the desired conception of community is not some definable or allocable social relation, but an imagined one. The modern world is based on insecurity and instability. The idea of the 'liquid modernity' is congruent to Beck's (2012) 'Risikogesellschaft' [risk society], in which notions of controllability, certainty and security are eventually lost and no longer exist. As an individual response to these conditions, there is an increased search for belonging, as well as for specific places to belong (Sennett 1999). Communities, grounded or projected, seemingly offer relief from this search: "We miss community, because we miss security" (Bauman 2001, p. 144).

However, the image and belief in particular notions of community is not necessarily identical to the actual social experience (Sennett 1970). Nor is this idealised and romanticised vision of the traditional village, for example, actually desirable as it denotes the prevailing hierarchical, authoritarian and gendered structures of pre-modern times (Walters & Rosenblatt 2008). Within this context, Etzioni (1987) argues that individuality and community are dichotomous to each other. Working for the common good can constrain individual freedom and restrict non-complimentary behaviours or values. Without addressing these issues, as merely an object of hope and substitute

for something missing, this image of community is neither attainable nor desirable. Hence, this projected ideal of community is a dangerous dream (Young 1990).

Rather, the specific conceptualisation of community inherently relates it to ambiguous effects. The idea of community as a warrant for certainty, safety and security is based on the return to a simpler life and rejection of all uncertainty. In this unity, community is created through the construction of 'sameness' and absence of the 'other'. This homogeneity in our society though is not pre-existent and has to be hand-picked. This selection separates between who is part of the community and who is not. Hence, this process builds upon the exclusion of others (Bauman 2001). Sameness in this sense is the cohesion of like-minded or -behaved. This conceptualisation of community leads potentially to exclusive enclaves combining spatial confinements with social closure and homogeneity of those inside. Within this thinking, the 'other' has to be feared, suspected, rejected and excluded (Sandercock 1998). Therefore, this conceptualisation of community functions as a defensive construct, fragmenting society and segregating places. Even though individuals on the inside are free to leave, a process of de-socialisation from the outside may happen: "The inhabitants find to their dismay that the safer they feel inside the enclosure, the less familiar and more threatening appears the wilderness outside, [...]" (Bauman 2001, p. 117). Discourses of safety are self-enhancing and justify their own existence. Communities built around narratives of safety and security means denoting individual freedom and dissolving trust and solidarity between them. Instead of fostering communal ties, social disintegration is created. In extreme cases, the notion of a cohesive community is misused by radicals to validate and reinforce fears (Young 1990). By constructing communities on projections of diverging classes, ethnicities or other social demarcations, in which one is perceived to be superior to opposing ones, they have been exploited to justify violence and discrimination towards others. Community, hence, is not *per se* a 'good thing' (Friedman 1992).

Yet, being involved in communities, as discussed previously, can have beneficial outcomes for members. A main difference mitigating the ambiguous effects lies in the conceptualisation. Instead of constructing and framing communities around the homogeneity of members and pre-defined shared values and behaviours, drawing on differences is enabling and inclusionary. "Lived communities are always flawed, fragile, contested, compromised and paradoxical, but this doesn't negate the powerful work that they do" (Noble 2009, p. 53). Such a perspective goes beyond artificially implemented static constructs of community, aligning it with the lived experience of its members by devising it as an evolving process. In this regard, cohesive conceptualisations would lead to multiple forms that are never complete, but always emergent. As Bauman (2001) argues under this perspective, communities can enfold their positive potential by building upon long-term notions of mutual care, responsibilities and concerns.

2.4. Adaptation Processes of Migrants

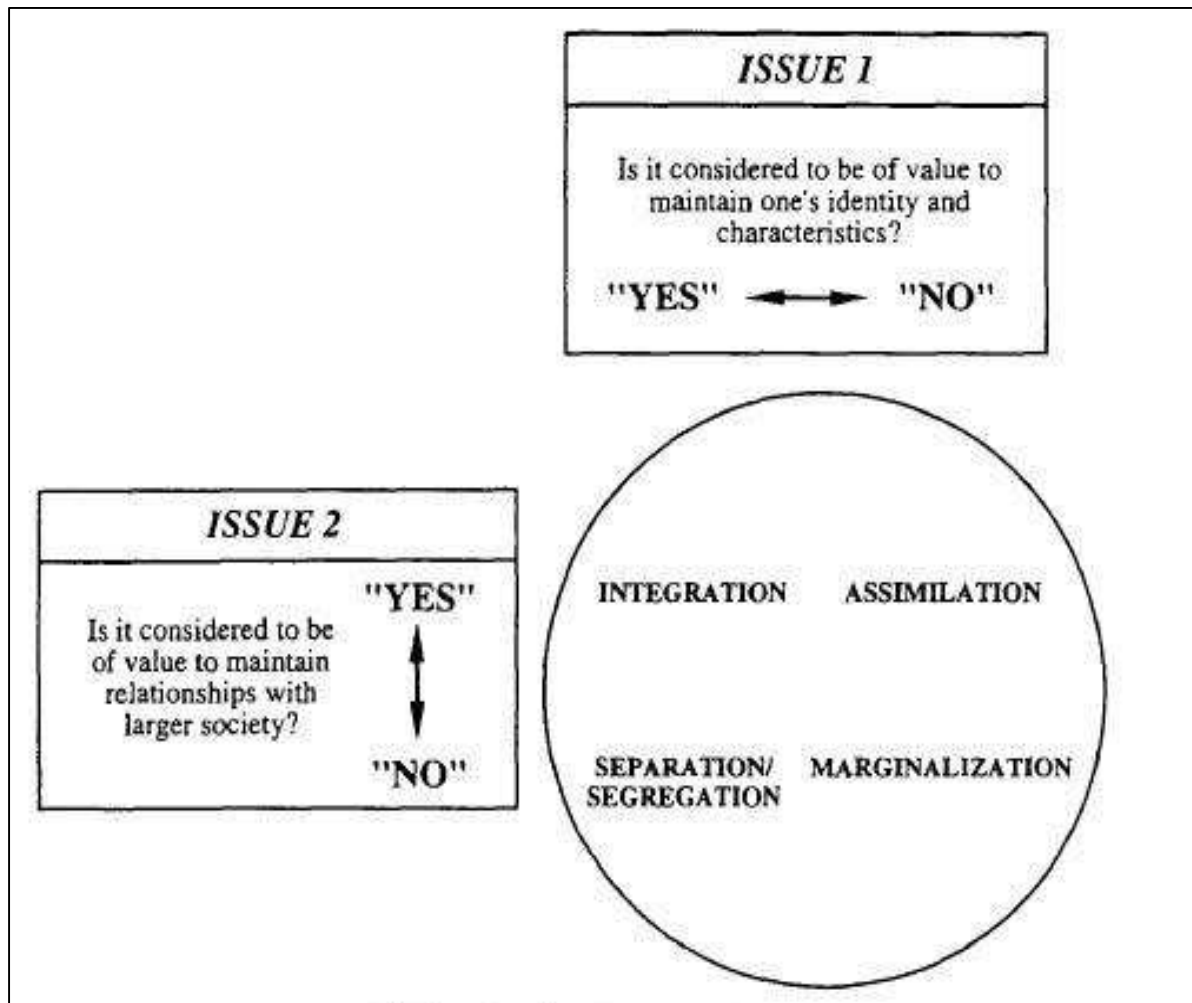
2.4.1 Strategies and Outcomes of Acculturation

Australia has become an increasingly multicultural society; although the rhetoric of multiculturalism is framed through politics (Boese & Marotta 2017; MacLeod 2006). The original underpinning of multiculturalism aims to nurture cultural diversity and empower marginalised groups, however the implementation of multicultural policies is regarded as problematic (Mansouri & Lobo 2011). The criticism includes that these policies are not intending to create collective forms of belonging and are rather a disguised strategy of reproducing power relationships controlling cultural minorities (Hage 2000; Jacobs 2011; Jayasuriya 2003). Considering this convoluted debate, this thesis acknowledges that views range from seeing cultural diversity as enriching to regarding migrants as a threat to social cohesion, but for the purpose of the study not further discussed.

The integration of migrants to a multicultural society is not only a top-down policy declaration, but shaped by lived experiences that might differ considerably to political framings (Babacan 2010; Sandercock 2003). From the work of Hage (2000) it appears that the impact of policies on integration is exaggerated, because living with cultural diversity is already a facete of everyday life in Australia. Migration can not only be comprehended as a spatial movement of settling in a new place, but as a process of encountering and adapting to a different cultural environment (Colic-Peisker 2008; Galligan, Boese & Philips 2014). For migrants their cultural practices and value systems might differ to those prevalent in the new society. Hence, they can be seen as transnationals, bringing habits or ways of thinking along without necessarily giving up backgrounds, histories or identities in order to be included (Babacan & Babacan 2013; Jacobs 2011).

The following section emphasises that this process differs between individuals as there are several strategies that can be used to cope with settling in a new social environment, which can be a disorientating and stressful change (Berry 2006; Kim 2001). Berry (1997, p. 13) refers to adaptation as: “[...] changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands.” Thus, adaptation is the eventual outcome of migrants experiencing acculturation while employing different strategies to achieve this successfully. By settling in another social environment, migrants are confronted with maintaining cultural practices and developing distinctiveness, for example by being involved in associated cultural or social networks. Likewise, migrants chose how much inter-ethnic contact is desired and the extent to which relations within the broader society are sought after. Berry (1992, 1997) distinguishes between these two issues and therefore proposes four possible acculturation strategies (see Figure 1). These are: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation.

Figure 1: Acculturation Strategies



(Source: (Berry 1997, p. 10))

If migrants do not maintain their cultural identity and rather seek interaction with other cultures, this is defined by Berry (1997) as assimilation. It can take place by the migrant culture being completely absorbed in society or a new form of society emerging. In comparison, integration implies that migrants maintain their cultural practices and are also involved in the wider society. In this scenario, the dominant society co-exists with various cultural groups. Whereas, if this cooperation and recognition of differences is not achievable and migrants hold on to their cultural identity a pattern of segregation or separation is imposed. This outcome happens either by migrant groups avoiding interaction with others or the host society not enabling a process of integration. The last possible option is marginalisation, in which neither cultural identity is maintained, nor is a relationship with others established. This may be characterised by a rejection of the host society, feelings of alienation and loss of identity (Berry 2006). These four acculturation strategies lead to different outcomes with regard to adapting and establishing a more substantial relationship within the broader society. Integration has been found to be the most successful strategy based on mutual accommodation of maintaining cultural practices as well as incorporating new behaviours and norms (Berry 1997).

In this perspective, outcomes of adaptation processes are conceptualised by Berry (2006) as 'behavioural shifts' and 'acculturative stress'. The shift relates to the learning of new behaviours that are appropriate in the new cultural context. Yet, this adaptation process can be experienced as a stressful exposure because behaviours are not necessarily changed easily. This anxiety, which results from previous behaviours not being appropriate anymore and the loss of familiar cultural and social practices, can be perceived as a culture shock (Oberg 1960). This disorientating shock of being exposed to a new culture is not entirely problematic, because it marks as well the initial progress of developing an understanding of other behaviours and norms. Hence, it is an integral part of the cross-cultural learning experience (Adler 1972). Settling-in a new country and encountering a different social environment is not a one off-event, but is a gradual apprehension of appropriate practices, norms and values in the new host society. Therefore, adaptation can be conceptualised as a learning process, which is not a finite procedure, but an ongoing challenge of relating one's own cultural identity to the new social environment (Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2003). However, migrants do not only experience this process as an enhancing development of individual capabilities, but also as a stressful exposure: "As people experience difficulties in an alien environment, they also acquire new cultural learning and growth. Cross-cultural adaptation is thus a double-edged process, one that is simultaneously troublesome and enriching" (Kim 2001, p. 21). With individuals adapting as result of getting accustomed to the new social environment the acculturative stress diminishes overall over time. Hence, the greatest culture shock is experienced in the initial settlement period, whereas cultural differences in later stages cause less stress.

However, the outcomes of adaptation are not only dependent on willingness of migrants to integrate or assimilate, but are also influenced by the social environment facilitating this process. The environment is embodied in public spaces or discourses, which are never neutral, but biased towards values of the dominant group (Babacan & Babacan 2013). An influential aspect is the orientation of the society of settlement towards migration and pluralism (Berry 1997). Thus, the lived experience of migrants moving to a new society is influenced by their social environment. This may enable as well as constrain processes of adaptation depending on the cultural distance between the two cultures. Integration is more likely to be achieved when behaviours or norms do not differ essentially and the cultural practices can be maintained without needing to alter them (Berry 2005; Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2003). Adaptation is thus a subjective component as well as a reaction to the environment that can enable or constrain integration: "[...] the key challenge is indeed that of striking the balance between cultural autonomy and social solidarity, so that the former does not lapse into separatism and essentialised identities, and so that the latter does not slide into minority cultural assimilation and western conformity" (Amin 2002, p. 20). Hence, to facilitate adaptation processes the social environment can be more integrative by not requiring adjustments that require the marginalisation of the cultural background. Rather, a mutual accommodation of the aspirations of migrants and prevailing norms of the social environment is required.

2.4.2 Role of Community for Adaptation Processes

While the promise of belonging and stability potentially forms a specific aspiration to be part of a community, possible restrictive and exclusionary outcomes may confront migrants in particular. They may be perceived and discursively labelled as ‘strangers’, who are different and thus to be ‘feared’ (Babacan & Babacan 2013). As a danger to the constructed unity they may not be accepted, excluded from belonging and required to assimilate by giving-up their cultural background. Even though for individual migrants their specific cultural background is not necessarily meaningful, the consequences of prescription and perception depending on the social context may be real (Colic-Peisker 2008). Hence, migrants can be regarded as vulnerable as they are potentially exposed to discourses of belonging in their new social environment inflicting insecurity and uncertainty. This insecurity may be fostered by social practices and meanings associated with migrants’ understanding and past experiences of community not necessarily complying with local forms. Based on Cohen’s (1985) notion of community as ‘learning to be social’, the process of adaptation relates to adjusting to other, new forms of community.

Research on migrants living in other urban settings in Australia suggests that local communities often play an important role in the experience of moving to a new place. Drawing on community support, whether from social networks from the same cultural background or others, can be helpful in overcoming challenges that individuals cannot master by themselves in this situation (Bansel et al. 2016; Etzioni 1987). Being involved in communities may be supportive in the initial settlement process and function as a substitute for previously living within a more extended family environment (Edgar 2014; Galvin 1980). Next to research on intra-ethnic relations, studies have focused on migrants’ integration into their local neighbourhood and their housing arrangements in Australia. Processes of adapting to new forms of neighbourhood and dwellings are complex, with migrants trying to bring previous customs along, as well as adjusting to perceived Australian norms (Beer & Morphett 2002; Lozanovska, Levin & Victoria-Gantala 2013).

Grounded forms of community can enable intercultural understandings and thus facilitate bridging cultural differences. A main factor for integration is via the lived experience of residents situated in specific places (Fincher & Iverson 2008). Social interactions differ between the public, parochial and private realm (Wessendorf 2013). Within the parochial realm, regular encounters create the opportunity to engage with residents from other cultural backgrounds, for example, by meeting neighbours on the street or on the joint daily commute on public transport. Although living in the same space does not achieve intercultural understanding between residents directly and emphasising the social mix of a place on its own is inadequate to create inclusive places (Amin 2002). Rather, more sustained social interaction in schools or sport clubs, for example, may facilitate a more comprehensive intercultural understanding. This feature of living with difference is encapsulated in the concept of conviviality as: “[...] the process of cohabitation and interaction which have made multiculturalism an ordinary feature of social life” (Noble 2013a, p. 166). Therefore, it seems more likely for people to acknowledge and engage with differences in the parochial realm contrary to public places, in which differences are rather tolerated or ignored (Wessendorf 2013). Yet, the anonymity provided in the public realms enables diverse communities to make use of public spaces. Specific practices, such as cultural festivities, can be held temporarily in the public realm. Likewise, houses can be an important site for articulating social relationships, giving migrants the

capacity to fulfil diverse cultural needs based in the private realm (Aguilar 2009). As these social practices are performed in a confined space cultural diversity can be maintained without challenging the norms and behaviours inscribed in the broader society. Therefore, migrants and their social networks can establish a sense of belonging drawing on the private realm of houses (Blunt & Dowling 2006). Even if these social networks do not necessarily bridge cultural differences, they enable communities to emerge that are grounded to specific places. This spatial connection can lead to the engagement in other communities situated locally, creating shared ties. As discussed in chapter 5.5, the lived experience of community is not restricted to a single cohesive one, but can encompass multiple overlapping ones. Hence, the social realms can complement each other in encapsulating diversity.

2.5 Devising Community as ‘Learnt Capacity’

To recap, this chapter has discussed the contrast between the promoted vision of community in the development of MPEs and more nuanced perspectives, highlighting its ambiguous character. There is ample literature pointing to the way community is conceptualised and the relations between this and adaptation processes of migrants. Building on this literature, the following summary discussion leads to the objective of this thesis.

The motivation for the study to focus on MPEs is that social objectives are integrated into the development process with the marketing of community being a central feature of this. Yet, residents do not necessarily experience more than a sense of community. It is perceived to be an asset provided for them, instead of community leading to meaningful local involvement or shared responsibilities. This shortcoming of MPEs has been related by numerous studies to its simplistic notion of community that is not aligned with the realities of modern society (Gleeson 2004; Gwther 2005; Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). Nevertheless, the idea of community is easily adopted in various contexts, as it is positively connoted and an imprecise term. From a sociological perspective, community can have beneficial outcomes for society. Particularly based on the ideas of Bauman (2001), this thesis understands community as a meaningful process of socialising between residents grounded in shared places creating a sense of belonging.

However, communities can take on a restrictive and exclusionary character. This is particularly true when they are artificially constructed as cohesive entities based on unity and sameness, but do not evolve by integrating the diverse needs of their members. This critical assessment of community is relevant when considering the integration of migrants as vulnerable groups in society. Not only do unifying processes of community increase the likelihood of migrants being labelled as outsiders needing to assimilate, but also their aspirations and practices may differ to these conceptualisations. Based on Berry’s (1992, 1997) reflection on acculturation strategies, integration leads to the best outcomes. In this case, migrants can maintain their cultural practices as well as establish meaningful relationships to the broader society. Besides the adjustments made by migrants, the social environment has a critical role in enabling or constraining their acculturation. This relationship between conceptualisations of community and adaptation of migrants is relevant for the social cohesion of the newly developing residential areas. Residents from culturally diverse backgrounds

constitute a considerable proportion of the population of these places, in which MPEs have become a dominant feature for urban development. Therefore, a better understanding of diverse aspirations is needed to achieve more socially inclusive forms of community.

With this thesis researching the lived experience by residents from culturally diverse backgrounds moving to MPEs, a significant gap in knowledge is addressed. As emphasised by Warr and Robson (2013), the social diversity of residents in MPEs needs more consideration. To achieve better social outcomes, more unpacking and more rigorous assessments of the techniques of masterplanning are required (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013; Gleeson 2004). The thesis aims at contributing new insights by relating lived experiences of community to adaptation processes of migrants in the field of urban development regarding new residential areas. Residents from an Indian and Filipino cultural background, who have moved to Australia and recently settled in a MPE, are selected as relevant informants as they have probably experienced other forms of community and are adapting to a new social environment. Therefore, this discrepancy between the built community planned in the context of MPEs and their aspirations and lived experiences of community may be accentuated. The subsequent study develops this new perspective on community as a 'learnt capacity' by focusing on the experiences of residents living in a MPE, their involvement in community expressed in the various social realms, and their adaptation process to the new social environment. The relationship between adaptation processes of migrants and community is influenced by other factors as well. As a relational idea community is shaped by multiple, intersecting relations (Collins 2010). In addition to their cultural background, the lived experience of migrants is influenced by their age, class and gender, for example. These are not mutually exclusive categories, but provide individuals with multiple axes of identity (Crenshaw 1989). However, this thesis focuses on the influence of acculturation on the experience of community; in doing so acknowledging that other intersecting factors, such as gender, are relevant also, but not the focal point of the enquiry (Osborne 2015).

The perspective on community draws conceptually on the framework of social realms (Lofland 1989a) as an analytical tool to understand local experiences expressed in diverse spatial settings. As grounded communities differ from each other regarding associated practices and values, their conceptualisation and expression vary between diverging social environments. Understanding community as 'learning to be social' entails people becoming accustomed to a certain form of community (Cohen 1985). Moving to a new social environment could be related to adapting to other forms and expressions of community. Therefore, this thesis postulates that previous experiences could enable migrants to bring other understandings of community along to the new social environment. But, their ability to interact could be impeded by the differences encountered, such as the specific conceptualisation of community in MPEs. To create a better understanding of this modification process to a new social environment, the following study explores the value of devising community as 'learnt capacity'.

3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Overview

The thesis is based on an ethnographic approach to understand the social meanings and lived experiences of community. The following chapter presents the underlying methodology for the research project, as well as its application during the process of the study. A focused ethnographic approach is the most congruent methodology in regard to elaborating on the research questions.

This chapter starts by presenting the methodological perspective of ethnographic studies. This stance is regarded to align well with the research objectives. However, with the research looking at the lived experience of Indian and Filipino residents in contrast to the narrative of community constructed in MPEs, the study is not trying to describe the overall culture of these residents. Therefore, the study can be described as a focused ethnographic approach rather than a 'traditional' ethnography (Knoblauch 2005). Building on these conceptual insights, this section discusses the methods used in ethnography and the importance of triangulation. The project is based on findings from a case study in based in Wyndham, located in the metropolitan area of Melbourne, Australia. Residents living in MPEs originating from India and the Philippines have been selected as cases, representing two significant recently arrived migrant groups in Australia.

Drawing on this, the following section outlines the research design of the project. The selection of methods and their significance for the project will be addressed as well as how they were triangulated. In order to find appropriate participants, a purposeful sampling strategy was applied. This part of the chapter highlights the advantages of such a sampling strategy and discusses the process and challenges of recruiting participants. As the researcher plays a central role in all ethnographic studies, the immersion in the field and possible influence of the researcher's background is reflected upon. Building on this, the next part of the chapter describes the data analysis. As multiple methods were employed over a period of time, the initial data collection has informed the subsequent parts. Therefore, the analysis of the information cannot be regarded as merely an end point of the project, but inherently as an embedded part of the data collection.

The main argument of this methodology chapter is that drawing on a focused ethnographic approach is the most congruent perspective in regard to the underlying research objectives. The perspective and the lived experience of the participants have been crucial in devising the topics regarding community. Therefore, reflecting on the specificity of the case study and its participants, as well as the researcher's role in conducting the project and analysing the data, are essential aspects.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Methodological Perspective

The research builds upon a constructivist ontology as a means to view social entities and a way social research can be conducted. This methodological approach assumes that social phenomena are constructed by interaction. Social reality, thus, does not represent an objective, permanent existence, but is subject to constant renegotiation and redefinitions (Walliman 2006). The role of the researcher therefore becomes prominent as their involvement and perspective shapes the observable. This construction of social reality is a fundamental characteristic of ethnographic approaches (Fetterman 1998).

With the research project focusing on diverse experiences and aspirations towards community, an ethnographic-inspired approach is well aligned to achieve this objective. The lived experience of participants and their experiences as well as the social meaning of community provide the central insight for this study. Therefore, the project is interested in their specific understanding of the social world in the natural setting, which is the essence of ethnography (Brewer 2000). In this sense, observations of communal life in the MPEs and other group activities, as well as the reflection of participants on their involvement and reflection on community, direct the further enquiry. Hence, the methodological approach draws on open-ended and applied methods, which are able to encompass the various perspectives of the participants and contain new insights generated in the course of the project. In contrast, quantitative or other approaches based on more predetermined methods, such as surveys or structured interviews, would have limited the scope of the study to test variables, rather than enable unsuspected observations through the research process.

From an ethnographic perspective the focus is on developing an understanding of a cultural group's everyday life and revealing the attributed social meaning of specific practices (Jorgensen 1989). The aim of ethnography is therefore to provide "[...] an account that describes richly and in detail all features of the culture" (Richards & Morse 2013, p. 58). This key feature of an in-depth narrative has been termed 'thick description' by Geertz (1973). This description focuses not only on the culture itself, but aims at embedding it in the everyday life of participants and relating findings within a broader context. This situated meaning is about the way people construct social activities and their identities in an institutional setting (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). Ethnographic studies, hence, produce contextual knowledge about a certain culture contained in a specific environment. But this understanding does not create insights into a specific culture located in defining circumstances only, as this knowledge can be transposed to a wider analytical perspective. As an inductive approach, ethnographic studies aim at building theory through providing empirical evidence.

Ethnographic research is concerned with the view of the observed group based in its natural setting. This 'subjective perspective' is the distinctive feature of ethnography (Bryman 2001). In this regard, participants inform the researcher. Ethnographic projects are, thus, driven by the data and not through the validation of pre-set assumptions. Qualitative methods enable a study to gain insights in relatively unknown areas, learn from participants and understand complex situations. Hence, these provide the most substantial source of data for ethnographic research, even though quantitative

methods, such as surveys, may inform the other parts. Ethnographic approaches are based around the researcher's immersion in the field and fitting methods need to be selected, depending on the particular context. Therefore, this does not imply the usage of one specific method, but data is collected from a range of sources and findings are combined from multiple sources (Brewer 2000). Nonetheless, observation of participants in their 'natural setting' is the essential element of ethnographic studies (Angrosino & Perez 2000). The observation can encompass everyday routines, social interaction between participants, specific cultural activities or events, which are subject to the enquiry and give meaning to these. These insights are gained through immersion in the field in order to be able to understand and accurately describe the 'social world' from the view of the participant. In this sense, ethnographic field work is first of all undertaken from an emic perspective. Developing this insider's knowledge is a process and thus requires a longitudinal, open-ended approach. Ethnographic studies therefore are built upon a sustained involvement in the field, which usually entails a period of over six months (Fetterman 1998). Initially, the researcher needs to gain access to the field and build trust with the involved actors in the setting. This immersion in the field necessitates the researcher to take up a certain role, which can range from a mere observer to a more involved participant (Angrosino & Perez 2000; Watt & Jones 2010).

These experiences of the field by the researcher can be validated through interviews with actors in the field by putting the observations into a larger context and discussing these, therefore the interview is "[...] the ethnographer's most important data gathering technique" (Fetterman 1998, p. 37). Ethnographic interviews may take various forms, such as narrative or semi-structured. Interview partners can be people who belong to the setting studies, or selected actors involved in certain activities of the culture. Such 'key informants' play a relevant role as they may have access to specific knowledge or act as gate-keepers, providing contacts to other participants in the field. Additionally, documents may provide an important source of data to support observations, provide contextual information or fill in gaps in knowledge (Bryman 2001). Ethnographic studies, hence, rely on the triangulation of various methods. By combining these, the complexity and richness of the phenomena can be understood in greater depth (Denzin & Lincoln 2005).

This research project cannot be described as conventional ethnography as it does not claim to achieve a 'thick description' of the Indian or Filipino culture. It is rather inspired through a perspective, which can be described as a 'focused ethnographic' approach. The theme of the study is pre-set on the residents' everyday experience of community, the influence of their background on their aspirations, and how the specific built and social environment of MPEs influences these. It is specific and has been identified before it has commenced (Richards & Morse 2013). In contrast to more conventional forms of ethnography, a "Focused ethnography [...] restricts itself to certain aspects of fields. The entities studied in focused ethnographies are not necessarily groups, organisations or milieus but rather situations, interactions and activities, i.e. the situative performance of social actions" (Knoblauch 2005, p. 12). This shift from understanding the everyday life of participants entirely towards specific social interactions means that observations need to be more selective. Instead, through a constant, long-term immersion in the field, observations are gained from relevant events or activities at various intervals. These key events are seen to be representative for social activities.

This methodological approach has been chosen because community is not a directly tangible term, the scope is wide, and opportunities for observations are relatively limited. For example, some forms of community are situated in public spaces at openly accessible events or activities, and observations of these social interactions are possible. But other forms of community can take place in private settings in houses, which are not accessible without invitation. Therefore, the project cannot fully observe all forms of community and is limited to observations of specific events or to indirect information gained in the interviews.

Accordingly, the project relies mostly on interviews for data collection with the observations and supporting documents providing background knowledge. With the interviews conducted in a narrative, open-ended style, the study is nevertheless driven by the data developed through the emic perspective of the participants. Even though the objective of the project is not to provide a 'thick description' of the field, it is inherently inspired by ethnographic data-gathering techniques gained through the immersion in the field in a 'focused' setting. Thus, the research draws on methods that are informed by a 'focused ethnography' as the methodological perspective.

3.2.2 Case-Study Approach

The thesis is based on a case study looking at the aspirations towards community of residents originating from India or the Philippines living in a Masterplanned Estate in Australia. A case-study approach has been selected in order to explore the diverse meanings of community in a specific social setting in which the constructed narrative of community by the developer presumably diverges from the experiences and expectations of the residents.

This research objective is in line with the underlying perspective of a case-study approach as: "[...] a method [...] that seeks understanding of a social situation or process by focusing on how it is played out in one or more cases" (Richards & Morse 2013, p. 76). Therefore, the study is construed by confining the case around a selected phenomenon in a certain location. MPEs are identifiable geographical spaces with set boundaries, which are created through the individual development of the area and are often visible through signposting or a specific aesthetic urban design. The chosen estates are all located in the City of Wyndham with a specific focus on Wyndham Gardens Estate (WGE)¹. As discussed in more detail in chapter 4.3, Wyndham was selected as one of the fastest growing municipalities in Australia and its emerging suburbs are predominately developed in the form of MPEs. The study is based on WGE as the estate can be described as an exemplary case and as a larger-scale development incorporates diverse social infrastructures enabling the research to be carried out. Next to the spatial setting, the study focuses on residents of Indian and Filipino origin living in these estates and their perceptions and experiences of community. These cohorts represent two recently settled migrant groups living in Wyndham; their demographic profile is presented in more detail in chapter 4.2.

¹ Wyndham Gardens Estate is used as a pseudonym for the actual estate's name in order to provide anonymity of participants, who are involved in the local community and would otherwise be identifiable.

The main intention of a case-study approach is to create a concrete, in-depth understanding of the selected cases. To achieve this, the complexities of the individual cases need to be understood specifically, which requires drawing on various perspectives from multiple data sources. This triangulation of various perceptions may clarify meanings and verify repeated observations or interpretations. As the selected place or social phenomenon is always embedded in a certain milieu or situation, the description and interpretation of the data is inherently dependent on the context. Therefore, the emphasis of case studies is first of all to represent the particular case and gain experiential knowledge through seeking patterns in the data (Stake 2005). However, in addition to creating case-specific in-depth knowledge, case studies can also be used to develop theoretical constructs that extend beyond the individual case. As in this project, the case study is applied for qualitative purposes: "The goal of all qualitative inquiry is not to reproduce reality descriptively but to add insight and understanding and to create theory that provides explanation and even prediction" (Richards & Morse 2013, p. 81).

The applied case study can be classified as an 'instrumental case study' according to Stake (2005), which has a wider purpose of generalising the findings of the particular case and answering the research questions. Therefore, this form of qualitative research can be described as an inductive approach, which builds upon these particular findings to detect patterns in order to formulate more generally applicable conclusions.

With participants of the study being of either Filipino or Indian origin, the research design is based on multiple cases. Even though the study does not aim to compare or artificially create 'the' Indian social meaning of community in contrast to 'the' Filipino one, generating data informed through these two groups from different backgrounds may strengthen the findings and make them more vigorous. The conclusions may be better supported by achieving common findings despite the cases being independent of each other and possibly varying contexts (Yin 2003). Furthermore, differences or commonalities between both groups may help to argue which findings are case specific and which aspects may be possible to generalise.

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Recruitment of Participants

The aim of the thesis was to recruit on a targeted basis around 40 participants from a Filipino or Indian background living in Wyndham Gardens Estate to ensure a sufficient range of participants. Two approaches were initially used. The first involved hand delivering 2,500 information flyers to households in the estate inviting residents to participate in the research (see Appendix 4). The information sheet also offered a \$20 gift-voucher for a major retail brand and local cinema to compensate participation. The second approach included posting notices in central public places, such as in the community centre and the local shopping centre. These were also announced several times on the local social media page of the estate. The aim of this primary recruitment strategy was to reach residents without any specific affiliation to certain social groups and thus include participants who might not be socially active locally. As this initial recruitment strategy triggered a response by only six residents and thus did not generate a sufficient response rate, the sampling strategy was adjusted to recruit participants living in other estates and parts of Wyndham as well. The invitation to participate in the project was circulated by posting notices in all community centres of Wyndham Council, at several Indian and Filipino stores, and on other public notice boards on various social media pages with a local target.

In addition to these, the subsequent recruitment consisted of more focused approaches. Purposeful sampling strategies were implemented. The aim of purposeful sampling is: “[...] to select information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study” (Bryman 2001, p. xix). Nominated sampling was used to take advantage of the social networks of participants. In this snowballing approach, participants referred to other possible participants, which included co-workers, neighbours or friends, to take part in the study. During the attendance of social events in Wyndham for observation, information concerning the project was distributed. Those people interested and living in Wyndham were invited to participate in the research. In addition to these residents, the researcher selected involved actors in the field of interest as key informants. These were contacted directly, mostly via their email address. The aim of the purposeful sampling strategy has been to gain an in-depth insight into the development of the estate, the council’s role in working together with diverse groups and the social networks of the Indian and Filipino groups.

This mix of recruitment strategies ensured that a diverse range of participants was included, as well as knowledge obtained from experts in regard to specific issues. With a rather open initial recruitment strategy, it has been possible to gain a broad insight and, with the study progressing, a more focused interview process with selected key informants has been achieved (Fetterman 1998).

The study is based on 46 interviews conducted with 35 individual participants and the cohort fits into the planned sample size and demographic range to enable the research to uncover and understand core categories of the lived experience and examined culture (Bernard & Ryan 2010). However, more importantly, the scope of sampling was applied to be adjustable to the research process determined by the situation and the quality of the data (Richards & Morse 2013). Interviews in the later stages provided fewer new insights and mostly supported previous statements, thus the data reached saturation.

3.3.2 Data Collection

The lived experience of community in a MPE is the focus of the project. The data gathering built upon a triangulation of methods around observations, interviews and analysis of relevant documents. In total, the study draws on the information from 46 interviews with residents from an Indian and Filipino background and community leaders involved locally. The main collection of data took place between July 2015 and December 2016.

The main informants for the project are the 27 participants of Indian or Filipino origin living in Wyndham. With eleven of these participants, two interviews were held subsequently; an initial interview and a follow-up interview around half-a-year to a year later, as highlighted in Table 1. The initial interviews were designed around relevant themes, but without any pre-set questions in order to enable an open-ended narrative style. The main focus was to understand the participants' everyday life, their cultural background and experience of community in the estate. To develop this in-depth understanding, the aim in the interviews was to develop themes that address their lived experience of community. Aspects discussed included the involvement in local communities, the aspirations and decision to buy a house in a MPE, the settlement process in Australia, the experience of community in India or the Philippines, and the relevance of social interaction with local residents with the same cultural background. The location of the interview was chosen in agreement with the participants to ensure a convenient place for them in a suitable atmosphere. Interviews were held in the private dwelling of the participant, in local community centres, or in public places close to their workplace, which was usually located in the inner city of Melbourne (Table 1). The audio-record of most interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours with conversations before and after the interviews and the signing of the consent form usually adding another 30 minutes.

Table 1: Interviews with Residents

Pseudonym	Lives in MPE	Recruitment Method	Location of Interview	Interview Dates
Guillermo	Yes	Response to flyer	Workplace in Melbourne	29/07/2015 & 20/10/2016
Sarah	Yes	Response to flyer	Community Centre in Wyndham	03/08/2015 & 22/10/2016
Ishaan	Yes	Response to flyer	Café in Melbourne	06/08/2015 & 04/11/2016
Diya	Yes	Response to flyer	Community Centre in Wyndham	13/08/2015 & 10/11/2016
Joe	No	Nominated	Café in Wyndham	15/09/2015
Matthew	No	Nominated	Café in Wyndham	15/09/2015
Sanjiv	Yes	Nominated	Café in Melbourne	16/09/2015
David	No	Nominated	Workplace in Melbourne	23/09/2015
Emmy	Yes	Social group	Café in Melbourne	18/11/2015
Rakesh	Yes	Social group	House in Wyndham	18/11/2015 & 14/11/2016
Shreya	Yes	Social group	Community Centre in Wyndham	19/11/2015 & 14/12/2016
Raj	Yes	Response to flyer	Café in Melbourne	24/11/2015
Rohan	Yes	Response to flyer	Café in Melbourne	27/11/2015 & 09/12/2016
Javier	No	Social group	House in Wyndham	29/11/2015
Michael	Yes	Social group	Café in Melbourne	17/12/2016 & 08/11/2016
Manoj	Yes	Nominated	Café in Melbourne	29/03/2016 & 06/01/2017
Ankit	Yes	Nominated	Café in Wyndham	01/04/2016
Sam	Yes	Nominated	Café in Melbourne	04/04/2016 & 06/01/2017
Daniel	Yes	Social group	Workplace in Wyndham	14/04/2016
April	Yes	Social group	House in Wyndham	14/04/2016

Patricia	No	Social group	House in Wyndham	17/04/2016
Angelo	Yes	Social group	Workplace in Wyndham	18/04/2016
Kyle	No	Social group	Workplace in Wyndham	18/04/2016
William	No	Social group	House in Wyndham	18/04/2016
Marie	Yes	Social group	Workplace in Melbourne	29/04/2016
Kim	Yes	Response to flyer	Community Centre in Wyndham	29/04/2016
Deepak	Yes	Response to flyer	Workplace in Melbourne	06/05/2016 & 03/11/2016

Drawing on the analysis of the initial interviews, follow-up interviews with MPE residents were conducted. These were designed in a semi-structured manner, alongside specific questions for all participants, elements of each interview were customised for the individual participant based on their previous responses and experiences. The aim of these interviews was to fill gaps in knowledge and create a more in-depth knowledge of participants' adaptation to their new social environment affected by different forms of community. Participants of Filipino or Indian origin living in other parts of Wyndham were included as well, but with these participants, only the initial narrative interview was held in order to create a broader understanding of local experiences of community and their view of place-making in MPEs. Interviewing residents living in the more established places of Wyndham enabled the drawing out of some particularities of MPEs.

Table 2: Interviews with Community Leaders

Pseudonym	Role in Community	Interview Date
Alexander	Wyndham Church	08/09/2015
John	Wyndham Council	23/09/2015
Olivia	Residents Group	25/11/2015
Liam	Community Centre	02/12/2015
Emilio	College in Wyndham	17/12/2015
Susan	Residents Group	17/12/2015
Janet	Wyndham Council	24/02/2016
Jesse	Residents Group	14/04/2016

With the focus of the project being on Wyndham Gardens Estate as a specific development, as discussed in more detail in chapter 4.4, the local form of community was analysed from multiple perspectives in addition to the lived experience of residents. Key informants involved in the development of the estate and building of a local community were interviewed and local social life was observed. Key informants, as displayed in Table 2, were residents active in local groups in the estate and staff from the local council. These semi-structured interviews focused on the activities of the local community as well as the everyday life and the development of the estate. The background for all these interviews was provided by observations of everyday life in the estate and selected community events, as illustrated by Table 3. In total, more than 60 days were spent in the field. Key events of the Indian and Filipino community in Wyndham Gardens Estate were also selected for observation, which were also made before or after interviews with participants in Wyndham.

Table 3: Immersion in Field

Description	Location	Date
Selection of estate	WGE and Wyndham	05-07/06/2015
Hand delivery of flyers	WGE	15-18/07/2015
Cultural festival	Community centre in Wyndham	25/07/2015
Indian precinct meeting	Community centre in Wyndham	03/08/2015
South-East Asian festival	Park in Wyndham	15/08/2015
Residents group	School in WGE	09/09/2015
Hand delivery of flyers	Community centres in Wyndham	08-09/10/2015
Indian social group	Community centre in WGE	29/08/2015
Indian social group	Community centre in Wyndham	29/10/2015
Filipino social group	Function room in Wyndham	13/11/2015
Community Market	Community in WGE	14/11/2015
Indian festival	Park in Wyndham	14/11/2015
Filipino festival	Community centre in Wyndham	28/11/2015
Filipino social group	Function room in Wyndham	13/12/2015
Community activity	Park in WGE	18/12/2015
Indian social group	Function room in Wyndham	18/12/2015
Filipino social group	Function room in Wyndham	04/03/2016
Filipino consultation dinner	Wyndham civic centre	05/04/2016
Filipino social group	Function room in Wyndham	09/04/2016
Filipino social group	Private residency in Wyndham	16/04/2016
Community activity	Park in WGE	22/05/2016

Wyndham Gardens Estate was chosen as the focus of the study after several days in the field visiting various estates in the area of Wyndham. During the hand delivery of flyers, several days were spent in the estate distributing the information on the research to all households, as well as taking field notes of observations. In this period, all parts of the development were visited on various weekdays and on the weekend. This procedure enabled me to gain a feeling for the everyday life in the estate and to get in touch with residents or local groups through informal conversations. The observations were captured in field notes around the use of public areas, such as the parks and the gardens, and modes of transport. This information enabled an emic perspective of the estate and thus provided local knowledge, which was further discussed in the interviews with local residents. Next to these everyday observations, relevant community activities and events in WGE were attended. These included events held at the community centre, in public places and regular activities of local residents' groups (see Table 3). The aim of this field work at varying intervals as part of the focused ethnography was to gain insight into the social interaction which constitutes community in the estate to some degree (Knoblauch 2005).

An additional aspect of the field work included the activities of Indian and Filipino groups in Wyndham. Therefore, interviews with leaders of some groups and local council members working in the multicultural and community portfolio were conducted. The aim of these semi-structured interviews was to gain a better insight into the local social networks and the integration of cultural groups in the area. Additionally, significant local events were attended, such as the Wyndham Diwali festival, meetings discussing an Indian cultural precinct in Wyndham, and a consultation dinner with local Filipinos organised by Wyndham Council. These events helped in gaining a better understanding of the local activities and networks associated with Indian and Filipino culture. Some

of these events were supported by documents, which were used as an additional source of information. Publications and research by Wyndham Council, such as the Wyndham 2040 strategy or the council's vision, provided a further insight and background information for the research. These documents were a supplementary source of information that were not analysed systematically.

3.3.3 Analysis of Data

Ethnographic studies build upon an iterative research process in which collected data influences the further project and therefore the analysis of the data is not a distinctive stage of the research (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). In this project, the gathered material was analysed throughout the fieldwork phase and not just at the end of the study. As the project is built upon a staged research design, the data gathering has been a process with initial findings informing following parts. For example, the observations of everyday life in the estate and local activities provided the background knowledge for the interviews with the participants. The analysis of the initial information was a central aspect for the further enquiry, in particular for the follow-up interviews with key informants. In this regard, the collection of data and the development of ideas and concepts are closely related through "[...] thinking not only about one's data, but also *with and through* the data" (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, p. 168).

Observations have been recorded for every access to the field in written field-notes. These have enabled reflection on evolving perceptions of the local community and everyday life in the estate, as well as on emerging ideas concerning the on-going project. Notes were also taken regarding the setting of the interviews. These have recorded the selected place, which the participants were free to choose, and setting of the interview, the interaction with other residents or other observations in regard to community, as well as discussions before or after the 'formal' interview. The interviews themselves have been audio-recorded and transcribed by me. These were transcribed 'non-verbatim', in which non-relevant fill words or repetitions are left out, in order to capture the meaning behind the spoken statements more clearly. All participants have been given a pseudonym and all personal comments in regard to other residents, actors or groups, have been de-identified. In order to assure anonymity and confidentiality, all information has been stored in a secure space. Supporting documents, such as publications by the local council or information published by the developer of the estate, have been viewed mainly for background information. The social media page of the estate has been an important source of information in regard to discussions between residents and the local activities happening. This 'online community' is not only virtual, but participants meet face-to-face as well or shape social interaction in the place (Postill & Pink 2012). The content of the page has been observed by viewing the content regularly over the period of the data collection. The aim of this observation is to gain a broader understanding of discussions between residents, who may not use local facilities, and discourses around the development of the estate. As some topics appeared frequently on the social media page, these provided a discussion point for the interviews conducted with participants living or working in WGE.

All collected data, fieldnotes, interviews and documents have been analysed using qualitative research software. A computer-assisted analysis process has been chosen in order to support management of the project, writing of memos, as well as searching and coding the data. The program NVIVO has been selected as it is a software designed for the purposes of working with qualitative data in terms of systematically handling codes and data, as well as enabling the incorporation of other applications, from social media or bibliographic programs (Silver & Lewins 2014). The gathered data has been coded initially around broader thematic topics. Coding enables the collected material to be brought together and sorted by categories (Richards 2009). With the aim at the beginning of the fieldwork being to gain insider knowledge of the everyday life and experiences around 'community' that are seen as relevant by the participants, the collected material has been sorted thematically. Using NVIVO as specific software for this purpose allowed the continuous development of codes during the analysis of the data by shifting codes or recoding initial material. As well, searches around certain terms have enabled the analysis to understand these in their diverse contexts and make comparisons between participants or other sub-sets. Drawing on this thematic frame, the on-going coding, especially in the later stages of the project, has been more analytical in regard to relating comments to each other, developing concepts and going beyond descriptive purposes. The purpose of qualitative coding is not only to sort the material, but to facilitate data retention (Richards 2009). In this sense, the coded material has provided the background as well as being an analytical process to revisit the data and develop interpretations of it. The analysis of the data has especially focused on understanding the ways in which participants reflect or adapt their experience of community in order to theorise community as 'learnt capacity'.

3.4 Reflection on Data Collection

3.4.1 Process of Recruitment

As the project is driven by the data gathered through the perspective of the participants and the findings from the observations, the research design has been necessarily open to changes. The recruitment strategy has been adjusted to the realities of the field over the course of the study. The initial criteria for recruiting participants was to only include residents from a Filipino or Indian background who have settled in Australia within the last ten years and bought a house in a MPE. Limited response rates with initial target locations led to adjustments to the research design. As some participants from Wyndham Gardens Estate had already been recruited, it was possible to initiate a snow-balling system to gain access to further residents. The focus was extended to all of Wyndham social activities and groups, enabling wider targeting of Indian and Filipino residents and the incorporation of data on the community experience of participants who were not living in an MPE, as a counterpoint to the experiences of Wyndham residents.

This adoption of the recruitment strategy and research design has shown the importance of establishing contacts within social networks and the need for a flexible recruitment approach. By getting in touch with local community leaders and gaining the trust of individual residents, it was

possible to gain further contacts. Even though in the initial recruitment strategy all households in Wyndham Gardens Estate were approached, only a limited response was achieved, despite giving an incentive to take part in the project. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that the sample has a certain bias with participants being engaged in activities or groups associated with Filipino or Indian culture and in general interested in taking part in the research. In this sense, the research cannot claim to be representative for all residents. However, it is not the objective of the study to devise 'the' Indian or 'the' Filipino experience or aspiration of community, but instead to create a more diverse understanding of community and the influence of settling in a different social environment. For this argument, the individual narratives of participants and shared experiences are seen to be more relevant than having a representative sample.

3.4.2 Reflection on Social Role

The project has been carried out by me as an individual investigator shaping my social role in the field. It is important to acknowledge and reflect on my social role in this process. No ethnographic research can be undertaken from a neutral, value-free perspective: "We are all products of our culture. We have personal beliefs, biases, and individual tastes" (Fetterman 1998). In this regard, the entire fieldwork, such as observations and contacts with participants, is influenced by the role of the researcher. Even though the study tries to reflect the view of the participants as closely as possible and by triangulating methods various perspectives are validated, nevertheless the analysis of data and findings are established through subjective interpretation. This is a common challenge for all ethnographic research as the validity of generated data is controversially debated (Bryman 2001). This problem of representing social reality is based on the influence of the researcher as the researcher 'generates' the data (Brewer 2000). Therefore, the researcher needs to apply a critical stance in regard to the research process. The following section will reflect on my role as researcher conducting the project to emphasise potential biases in the data collected.

First of all, as part of my PhD thesis the research has been carried out as an academic project based in the Centre for Urban Research at RMIT University. For participants, this affiliation has been made known, for example, by the use of RMIT's logo on the advertisements for the research or by the use of my staff email address. This academic background may have given credibility to the study. For some participants, it was a motivation to take part in the project in order to contribute to academic discourses or because they have had their own experiences of being a researcher. For example, as the research was conducted as part of a PhD thesis, helping 'a student' was mentioned as a reason for taking part. This may have had an influence on the willingness of participants to take part and may have influenced the sample. It seems plausible that for other residents it did not seem worthwhile to take part in an academic project undertaken by a PhD student, as it will not provide them with any direct benefit.

As another factor, gender may have influenced my social role in the field. Although the project has aimed to have a relatively equal proportion of males and females, more men have taken part in the

study. This imbalance can be partially explained through the recruitment strategy, as more male participants were nominated by other participants. Nevertheless, it is possible that cultural norms have made it 'more appropriate' for men to speak to a male researcher. However, this statement cannot be confirmed, as no direct comments were made or no refusing behaviour could be observed. To navigate the risk of putting participants in a perceived inappropriate interview situation, participants were able to select a convenient place for them to meet. Several participants chose to conduct the interview in community centres or other public places, rather than at their home. However, this was not related to any specific gender. For the second interview, some participants that I had previously met at public places chose to be interviewed in their home. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the gender imbalance of the study. Despite the role of gender on experiences of community not being specifically addressed, it seems likely that this, alongside other factors like age, does have an influence. Therefore, this represents is a limitation of the methodological approach.

Being identifiable as a migrant with an accent from an apparently 'Caucasian' background does relate to the project in this particular field. As stated in some interviews, racism in regard to the perceived 'colour' of a person is an issue in the Philippines and India, and participants have experienced racism in Australia as well. This kind of experience is something that I have not been faced with personally. Therefore, I cannot fully apprehend the discriminatory situations that some participants have experienced. Also, as I have neither lived nor grown up in India or the Philippines, some participants found it difficult to explain cultural traits or practices. However, this led other participants to explain social practices in more detail from a more objective perspective. Yet, my growing up in another country and having an accent enabled discussions on Australian society as I was regarded as a migrant as well. Hence, I could relate to common experiences as a migrant settling in a different social environment.

4. CASE STUDY

4.1 Selection and Description of Cohort

The outer suburbs of metropolitan Melbourne are becoming culturally more diverse with a significant amount of recently arrived migrants deciding to settle there. This chapter describes the case-study approach used in this thesis to capture the lived experience of migrants living in MPEs. Indian and Filipino residents living in a MPE in Wyndham have been selected as relevant cohorts to address the objectives of the study.

The first section of the chapter discusses the contemporary settlement of migrants in metropolitan Melbourne. Migrants from India and the Philippines are two of the most prominent groups moving to Australia in recent times. The settlement of Indian migrants in Victoria and Wyndham, more specifically, is profiled in terms of their social demographics before discussing the characteristics of the Filipino settlement. For both groups, Wyndham has increasingly become an important area of settlement. The main argument of the section is that both groups were chosen because a majority of the current population has arrived rather recently and is settling in the outer metropolitan areas. Building on the growth of the Indian and Filipino population in Wyndham, the development of the municipality is portrayed. The area has experienced a significant amount of new residential development since 2001, with drastic increases in the population since that time. A significant proportion of this land and housing supply is being developed under the paradigms of MPEs. The focus of this section is to portray the demographics of Wyndham and discuss the connection between the population growth and the emergence of new MPEs. Wyndham Gardens Estate is located in one of the upcoming suburbs and provides a characteristic case for these forms of residential development. The focus lies on introducing the development process of the estate, the ideas of community-building by the developer, and giving an overview of the existing local social infrastructure. This specific estate was chosen because, as a large development with a variety of social groups and facilities, the research was likely to draw on extensive observations and social activities.

The chapter ends with a description of the cohort by discussing the demographic profile of the participants involved in the study and their decision to move to a MPE in Wyndham. Basic indicators give an overview of the sample and scope of the project with regard to the overall Indian and Filipino population. As the project is concerned with their housing aspirations, aspects of housing tenure and family composition are emphasised. The chapter argues that the main reason for participants to move to Wyndham was their desire to live in an owner-occupied house, with this area being considered the most feasible place in terms of distance to the city and affordability of houses. Even though the concept of masterplanning is not the primary concern in this decision, some features of MPEs are taken in consideration as well, and this specific built and social environment does influence the experience of living there. In this regard, previous conceptions of MPEs in the Philippines or India and the process of settling in Australia create specific insights through this cohort.

4.2 Social Profile of Indian and Filipino Migrants

4.2.1 Settlement of Migrants in Metropolitan Melbourne

Recent migration has contributed significantly to the population growth and housing demand in metropolitan cities with the proportion of overseas-born residents in Australia rising to over 28 % in 2016 (ABS 2016b).

Table 4: Increase in Overseas-Born Residents in Victoria

Year	Total of Victorian Residents	Overseas-Born Residents	% of Overseas-Born Residents
1991	4,244,316	1,023,166	24.1%
1996	4,373,520	1,059,480	24.2%
2001	4,644,950	1,113,197	24.0%
2006	4,932,422	1,173,206	23.9%
2011	5,354,039	1,405,333	26.2%
2016	5,926,624	1,680,256	28.3%

(Source: (ABS 1991, 1996, 2001, 2011b, 2016b))

The State of Victoria has been experiencing an increasing growth of population since the beginning of the 1990s. In the 25 years between 1991 and 2016, the number of residents living in Victoria increased by around 1.7 million people and the population of overseas-born residents by over 650,000. The number of migrants settling in Victoria rose to over 270,000 between 2011 and 2016, as shown in Table 4. Within this timeframe, the proportion of overseas-born residents has grown overall. From 2006 onward, almost half of the population growth in Victoria can be accounted to residents moving from overseas (Table 4).

Figure 2: Proportion of Overseas-Born Residents in Melbourne in 2011

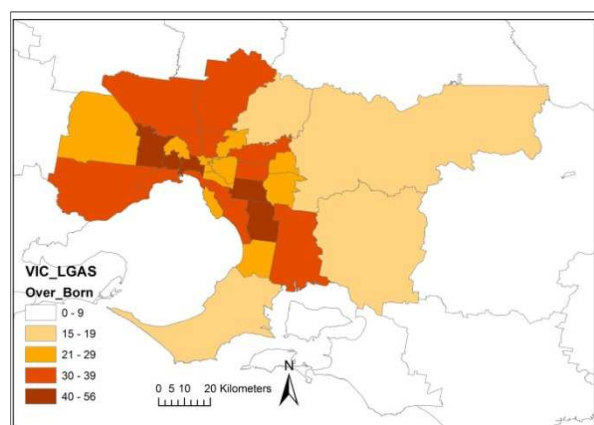
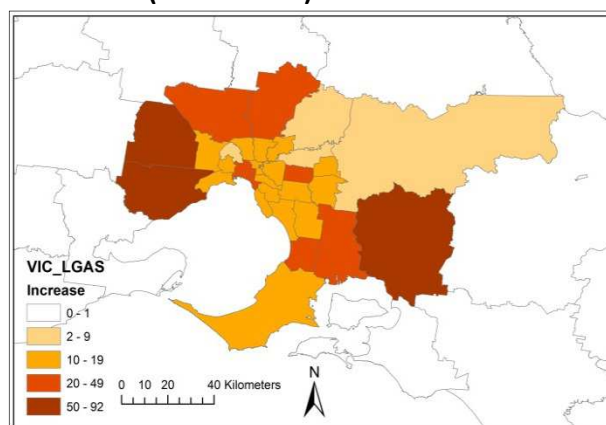


Figure 3: Increase in Overseas-Born Residents in Melbourne (2006 – 2011)



(Source: (State of Victoria 2011))

The settlement of migrants is not evenly distributed across metropolitan Melbourne. In comparison to the average of around 28% in Victoria, in some local government areas more than 40% of residents were born overseas (Figure 2). However, as shown in Figure 3, the outer urban growth areas are particularly attracting recent migrants. At the same time as the overseas-born population grew in metropolitan Melbourne by around 20% between 2006 and 2011, in some areas it has

increased by over 50% (State of Victoria 2011). The largest increase in overseas-born residents is in the City of Cardinia in the South-East, and in the West the City of Melton and the City of Wyndham (ibid.). In all of these areas, the ratio of overseas-born residents in relation to the overall population has been increasing. Hence, these overseas-born residents have been settling there over-proportionally compared to the total growth in population. At the same time, it is primarily more recent migrants who are deciding to settle in these areas. For example, in the City of Wyndham almost half of the population born overseas has arrived in Australia since 2001 (ibid.).

Table 5: Main Overseas Countries of Birth in Victoria

Rank	Country of Origin	Population 2011	Population 2016	Increase
1	United Kingdom	213,124	207,958	-2.4%
2	India	111,787	169,802	+51.9%
3	China (excl. SAR and Taiwan)	93,869	160,652	+71.1%
4	New Zealand	80,235	93,253	+16.2%
5	Italy	76,908	70,527	-8.3%
6	Vietnam	68,296	80,787	+18.3%
7	Greece	49,991	47,240	-5.5%
8	Sri Lanka	43,991	55,830	+26.9%
9	Malaysia	39,791	50,049	+25.8%
10	Philippines	38,002	51,290	+35.0%

(Source: (ABS 2011b, 2016b))

The composition of the country of origin of migrants moving to Australia has changed. While the size of more established migrant communities, such as people born in Italy or Greece, has been declining, the number of residents originating from Asian countries has been rising significantly (Table 5). Residents born in China and India now represent the largest migrant group behind people coming from the United Kingdom. As highlighted in Table 5, the population from other Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Malaysia, has also grown significantly since 2011. Considering that this statistic measures only the number of people born overseas, which is the balance between residents emigrating and immigrating, the amount of people having migrated is larger than the net increase of the population. A large majority of Indian and Chinese migrants and a significant number of Sri Lankans, Malaysians and Filipinos have settled in Australia since 2001 (ABS 2001). Hence, these can be characterised as rather recently arrived migrant groups.

The settlement of migrants is not evenly distributed over metropolitan Melbourne, with some areas having a significantly higher concentration of residents from one particular background (Figure 2). However, Melbourne cannot be described as a highly segregated city as no migrant group constitutes the majority of the population of any suburb. With the origin and proportion varying between different areas in metropolitan Melbourne, settlement patterns of migrants have a spatial dimension and are influenced by the time of arrival. It is in this regard that settlement patterns need to be differentiated between localities and cannot be viewed as one overarching process. Rather, local areas need to be considered individually with regard to processes of adaptation by migrants and achieving social cohesion.

4.2.2 Settlement of Indian Migrants

Migration from the Indian subcontinent to Australia is not merely a recent phenomenon as people with an Indian background have been settling in the country since the 19th century, when men were hired as labourers, camel drivers and hawkers. With Australian policies restricting immigration from non-European backgrounds, the number of residents of Indian origin stagnated until the mid-1960s. After the easing of exclusionary policies, the number of Indians living in Australia slowly increased and the Indian community gained an active presence in Australian society, even though in numerical terms they constituted an insignificant proportion of the overseas-born residents until the 1980s (Bilimoria 2015). In particular, since the shift to policies supporting the migration of students and skilled workers, the number of Indians moving to Australia has grown exponentially. These rather recently arrived migrants can be differentiated from earlier arrivals as this wave of migration is characterised by professionals and students arriving on temporary visas and only gaining permanent residency over time (Singh 2016).

Currently, residents originating from India constitute the largest overseas-born group behind residents from the United Kingdom in Victoria (Table 5). In 2016, almost 170,000 people living in Victoria were born in India. This population has been increasing significantly since 2001 with the population increasing by 140,000 people (ABS 2016b). Hence, a large proportion of Indian residents have only moved to Australia in the last fifteen years. In this regard, Indians constitute a rather recent migrant group in comparison to the average residency time of all other overseas-born residents.

Table 6: Social Profile of Indian-Born Residents

Category	Indian Residents	Victorian Average
Age Groups		
< 18	9.2%	23.7%
19 - 34	55.5%	22.5%
35 - 54	24.3%	28.1%
> 55	11.0%	25.7%
Median Age	31	37
Gender		
Female	43.4%	50.8%
Male	56.6%	49.2%
Religious Affiliation		
Hinduism	44.6%	1.6%
Sikhism	22.1%	0.5%
Western Catholic	18.3%	26.6%
Islam	3.1%	2.9%
Other	12.9%	68.4%
Highest Level of Educational Attainment		
Bachelor degree or higher	51.2%	17.2%
School education only	19.9%	47.5%
Other	28.9%	35.3%

Housing Tenure Type		
Owned outright	9.7%	28.3%
Owned with mortgage	34.4%	40.8%
Rented	51.2%	22.8%
Other	4.7%	8.1%

(Source: (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a)

The population of Indian origin is, on average, younger than Victorian residents, with the median age of 31 being six years less than the Victorian average (Table 6). This group is characterised by young adults aged between 19 and 34 (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a). It is this cohort that is forming the bulk of migration to Australia. Between 2001 and 2006 they constituted 65.8% of all new arrivals from India (ibid.). These younger adults moving to Australia are mostly men. They contribute to the gender imbalance of the Indian population with over 56% men to only 43% women (Table 6). The gender difference is most prominent in the age group between 20 and 59, which could be an indicator that Indian migrants come to Australia individually for study or employment purposes. Religion seems to play a major role for Indian residents with only 2.4% stating that they have no religion in comparison to 24% of the total Victorian population (ibid.). They are largely affiliated to Hinduism with a smaller number affiliated to Sikhism. For both faiths, people of Indian origin constitute the majority of their affiliated members and thus migration from India has led to the emergence of Hindu temples and Gurdwaras. Other religions, such as Western Catholicism or Islam, are only mentioned by a smaller proportion.

A majority of Indians is migrating to Australia via the skilled migrant stream, in which visas are granted based on skills, qualifications or entrepreneurship assessed to be needed for the Australian economy (Commonwealth of Australia 2016). Based on the necessity to have certain qualifications before being eligible for this kind of visa, more than half of the Indian residents in Victoria have a university degree. The difference to the total Victorian population is especially significant in terms of postgraduate studies, where over 21% of residents born in India hold a postgraduate degree in comparison to 2.7% of all Victorians (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a). With over 71% of Indians participating in the labour force, a large majority is employed. This is substantially higher than the Victorian average of around 49% (Table 6). The most important industries of employment according to the ABS (ibid.) are classified as 'professional, scientific, technical and administration', wholesale and retail trade, health care and social assistance as well as manufacturing. The proportion of people working in both the fields of occupation and industry of employment does not vary largely from the Victorian average.

The housing tenure type differs, as demonstrated by Table 6, between residents originating from India and the Victorian average. The majority of Indians were renting in 2011, a number which has over-proportionally increased from 2006 (ibid.). Outright home ownership is significantly lower than the total for the Victorian population, although these numbers are increasing as more than three-quarters of homes are owned with a mortgage. This could be an indicator for properties being bought recently with the mortgage being paid off over time. Even though renting is the main type of housing tenure for Indians, the number of house owners has been increasing since 2006 (ibid.). Compared to 2006 the number of residents owning a dwelling increased by more than 21,000 residents in 2011 (Table 6). In this sense, the possible transition of renting to purchasing their own home has not kept pace with the rise in the number migrating. At the same time, the composition of

families is rather similar to the Victorian average, with half being described as ‘couple family with children’ and roughly a quarter forming a ‘couple family with no children’ or other forms of family (Table 6). The number of families where only one parent raises the children is 2.6%, which is substantially lower than the Victorian average of over 10% (ibid.).

Figure 4: Number of Residents of Indian Origin in Melbourne (2011)

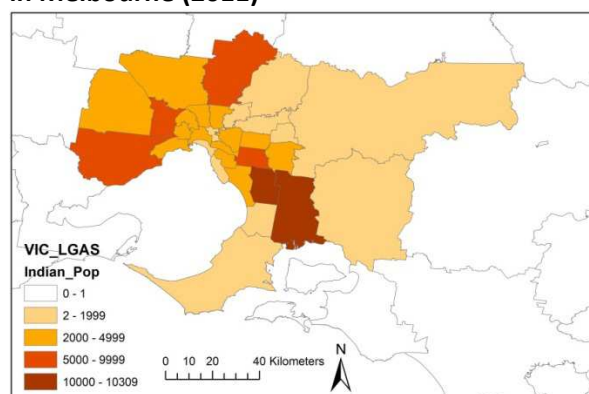
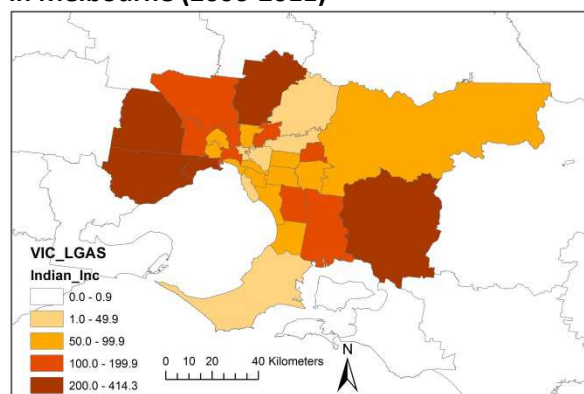


Figure 5: Increase in Residents of Indian Origin in Melbourne (2006-2011)



(Source: (State of Victoria 2011))

The settlement of residents born in India is unevenly distributed in metropolitan Melbourne with the population concentrated in certain areas. In 2011, the main places of residency were Casey, Greater Dandenong, Wyndham, Brimbank and Monash, in which respectively over 5,000 residents and in total over 40% of the population of Indian origin is living (Figure 4). Even though Indians constitute the largest overseas-born group in some municipalities, these cannot be described as areas dominated by one ‘ethnicity’. Even in the City of Greater Dandenong, which has the highest proportion of residents of Indian origin in Victoria, they only constitute 21.5% of the overseas-born population and 7.4% of the municipality’s entire population (ABS 2011b). Between 2006 and 2011, the population of Indians has roughly doubled and the main places of settlement for newly arrived migrants are located in the South-East, North and West as these have grown over-proportionally (Figure 5). From all local government areas, Wyndham has been experiencing by far the largest growth since 2006 with the number of residents born in India increasing by over 414% (State of Victoria 2011).

Table 7: Social Profile of Indian-Born Residents

Category	Wyndham	Victorian average
Year of arrival		
< 1980	5.3%	10.3%
1981-2000	14.7%	16.5%
2001-2011	80.0%	73.2%
Usual Address 5 years ago		
Same as 2011	16.4%	25.6%
Elsewhere in Australia	40.0%	25.0%
Overseas in 2006	41.4%	46.1%
Not stated	2.2%	3.2%

Housing Tenure Type		
Owned Outright	4.8%	9.7%
Owned with Mortgage	67.4%	34.4%
Rental	25.2%	51.2%
Other	2.6%	4.7%

(Source: (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a)

The majority of the Indian-born population living in Wyndham arrived in Australia within the last ten years. The proportion of newly arrived residents is 80% higher than the average of the Indian-born population in all of Victoria (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a). Of the residents living in Wyndham, only 16% have been there since 2006 (ibid.). Roughly 40% were previously living elsewhere in Australia or overseas (Table 7). In this regard, the large majority of residents of Indian origin have moved there within the last five years. For those living in Wyndham, owning the dwelling is the preferred housing tenure type with over three-quarters of residents either owning their home outright or with a mortgage. In comparison, the number of residents renting is substantially lower than Indians living in other areas of Victoria (ibid.).

4.2.3 Settlement of Filipino Migrants

With over 51,000 residents living in Victoria, Filipinos represent the eighth largest group born overseas. With the population increasing by more than 13,000 between 2011 and 2016, they are one of the fastest growing migrant groups in Victoria (ABS 2016b). Although the population has been increasing significantly since 2011, migration from the Philippines has a longer history. Their settlement in Australia can be characterised through different waves.

Prior to the White Australia policy, migration from the Philippines was practically non-existent with the total numbers of residents of Filipino origin not exceeding 100 residents in Victoria (Zubiri et al. 2010). The first significant wave beginning in the 1970s were the so-called 'mail-order brides'. This migration consisted mostly of Filipina spouses of Australian men moving to Australia after arranged marriages. Subsequently, the migration of close relatives led to an initial peak of Filipino migration in the late 1980s (Burnley 2001).

More than a third of the current residents of Filipino origin have been settled in Australia for more than 25 years, with 27.7% arriving between 1981 and 1990 (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b). As with migrants from India, with the shift of immigration policies to focus on skilled workers, students and enabling family reunions, the number of Filipinos moving to Australia has been drastically increasing since the early 2000s (ibid.). After the migration numbers decreased in the previous decade, Filipinos arriving in the period between 2001 and 2016 constitute the majority of the current Filipino population living in Victoria (ABS 2016b). With the patterns and the reasons for migration differing to former groups, the recently settled migrants from the Philippines can be distinguished in demographic terms as well as in their choices of settlement.

Table 8: Social Profile of Filipino-Born Residents

Category	Filipino Residents	Victorian average
Age Groups		
< 18	13.9%	23.7%
19 - 34	25.9%	22.5%
35 – 54	42.4%	28.1%
> 55	17.8%	25.7%
Median Age	39	37
Gender		
Female	61.5%	50.8%
Male	38.5%	49.2%
Religious Affiliation		
Western Catholic	78.2%	26.6%
No religion	2.1%	20.4%
Other	19.7%	54.0%
Highest Level of Educational Attainment		
Bachelor degree or higher	41.4%	17.2%
School education only	32.0%	47.5%
Other	26.6%	35.3%
Housing Tenure Type		
Owned outright	16.4%	28.3%
Owned with mortgage	47.6%	40.8%
Rented	32.5%	22.8%
Other	3.5%	8.1%

(Source: (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b)

The residents of Filipino origin are on average older than the rest of the Victorian population with the median age of 39 being two years higher (Table 8). The largest cohort of Filipinos is in the age range between 35 and 54 with many of these having arrived in Australia before 1990 (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b). For Filipinos, this age range is significantly higher than the Victorian average. At the same time, the proportion of Filipinos aged between 19 and 34 is slightly larger (ibid.). However, these residents are likely to have arrived after 2001 in comparison to the older cohort. This difference is most pronounced in the gender imbalance of the Filipino population, in which over 61% of the residents are women (ibid.). This difference in gender is most accentuated in the age group above 40, of which more than two-thirds are women. These statistics support the view of migration from the Philippines occurring in waves with the more recently arrived Filipinos differing to the already settled population.

As highlighted in Table 8, religion seems to play a major role for Filipino residents with over 78% being affiliated with Western Catholicism, which is significantly higher than the Victorian average. Catholic churches, thus, may play an important role for Filipinos to establish social networks with other Filipinos as well as the broader society. The remaining population is aligned mostly with other Christian churches. Only around 2% describe themselves as having ‘no religion’, which is

substantially lower than the Victorian average of over 20% (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b).

The majority of Filipinos migrated to Australia via the skilled migrant stream. In particular, the 'Permanent Employer Sponsored' visa, through which Australian businesses can employ overseas skilled workers, is currently the most granted manner of entry for residents originating from the Philippines (Commonwealth of Australia 2016). Aligned with their manner of entry, a large number of Filipinos in Victoria have a tertiary education (Table 8). This is significantly higher than the state's average of around 17% with a Bachelor degree or higher, compared to 44% of Filipinos (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b). Living in Australia, a majority of the residents are employed in the labour force; over two-thirds of Filipinos participate in the labour force compared to half of all other Victorian residents (*ibid.*). The field of occupation differs as well with a substantially higher number of Filipinos working as 'community and personal service workforce' or as 'labourers'. Main industries of employment are 'health care and social assistance' and 'manufacturing', in which more than 44% of Filipinos are active (*ibid.*).

In choice of housing tenure, more Filipinos are renting compared to the Victorian average. Almost a third of Filipino residents are living in a rented place in contrast to less than a quarter of other residents (Table 8). At the same time, of the Filipinos owning a place, the vast majority is paying off a mortgage rather than owning it outright. The typical family of the Filipino population is described as 'couple family with children' with more than 62% aligned to that category (*ibid.*). This is higher than the Victorian average of 48%, in which more families are characterised as 'couple family no children' or as 'one parent family' (*ibid.*).

Figure 6: Number of Residents of Filipino Origin in Melbourne (2011)

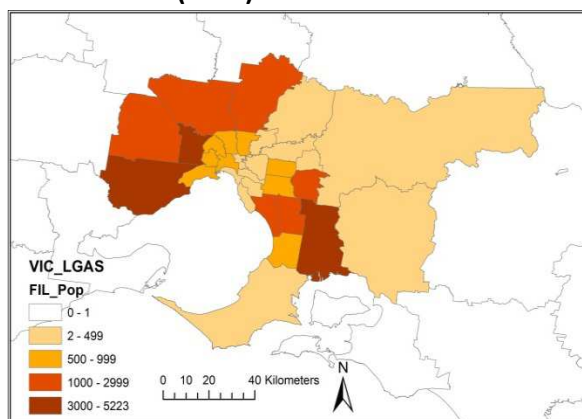
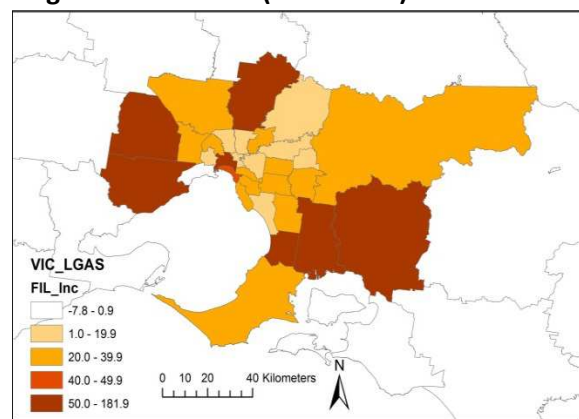


Figure 7: Increase of Residents of Filipino Origin in Melbourne (2006-2011)



(Source: (State of Victoria 2011)

The settlement of residents born in the Philippines is unevenly distributed across the metropolitan areas of Melbourne with some municipalities being the main places of residency. In 2011, the main local government areas were Brimbank, Wyndham, Casey, Melton and Hume, in which over 40% of the population of Filipino origin is living (Figure 6). Even though Filipinos constitute one of the largest overseas-born groups and settle specifically in some municipalities, these cannot be described as areas dominated by one 'ethnicity' (Figure 7). Even in the City of Brimbank, which has the highest

proportion of residents of Filipino origin in Victoria, they only constitute 7.2% of the overseas-born population (State of Victoria 2011). Of all local government areas, Wyndham has experienced by far the largest growth since 2006 with the number of residents born in the Philippines increasing by over 86% whereas the population in the whole of Victoria has only grown by roughly 40% in the same period (ibid.).

Table 9: Social Profile of Filipino-Born Residents

Category	Wyndham	Victorian average
Year of arrival		
< 1980	5.8%	9.4%
1981-2000	40.2%	47.1%
2001-2011	54.0%	43.5%
Housing Tenure Type		
Owned Outright	8.8%	16.4%
Owned with Mortgage	66.1%	47.6%
Rental	22.8%	32.5%
Other	2.1%	3.5%
Usual Address 5 years ago		
Same as 2011	39.5%	46.9%
Elsewhere in Australia	30.7%	26.1%
Overseas in 2006	28.1%	25.0%
Not stated	1.7%	2.0%

(Source: (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b)

The majority of the residents of Filipino origin living in Wyndham have arrived in Australia within the last ten years. The proportion of newly arrived residents is with a rate of 54% higher than the average of Filipinos living in all of Victoria (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b). Of the residents living in Wyndham, only 40% have been there since 2006 (Table 9). Roughly 30% were previously living elsewhere in Australia or overseas (ibid.). In this regard, the majority of residents of Filipino origin have moved there within the last five years. At the same time, owning the dwelling is the preferred housing tenure type with three-quarters of residents either owning it outright or with a mortgage. In comparison, the number of residents renting is substantially lower than the Victorian average. With only a quarter of people living in a rented place it is less than the average in Victoria, in which almost a third of the population is renting (ibid.).

4.2.4 Selection of Indian and Filipino Residents

Residents of Indian and Filipino origin have been chosen as the focus of the study as they constitute two of the largest groups of residents in Victoria from a non-English speaking background, as well as currently being among the fastest growing. Almost three-quarters of the residents born in India and around half of the current Filipino residents migrated to Australia after 2001 (ABS 2001, 2016b). Hence, both can be characterised as rather recent migrant groups. This is relevant for the research objectives as participants need to be able to reflect on their settlement process and their experience of adapting to divergent forms of community in their new social environment. In contrast to other migrant groups, such as people of Chinese origin, the main places of residency are located in the outer urban growth areas.

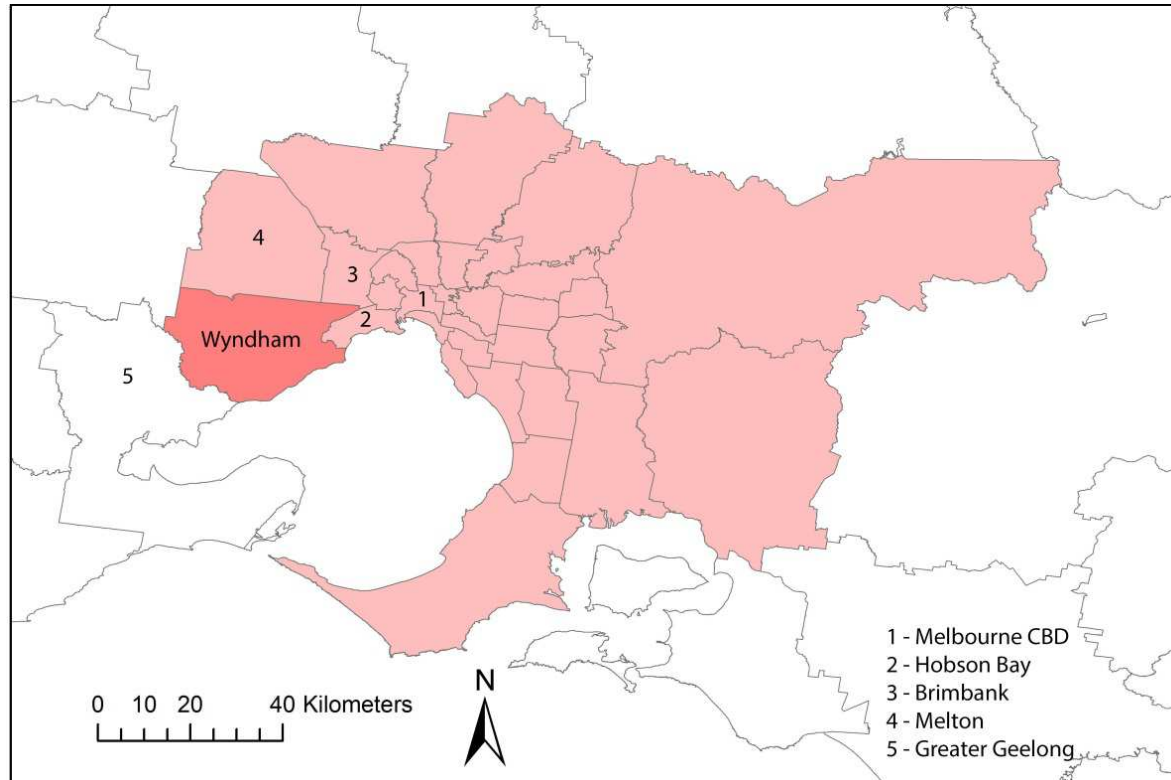
The study has chosen to focus on the City of Wyndham, as this municipality has the largest population growth for residents of Indian as well as Filipino origin (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a, 2013b). The majority of them have moved to Wyndham since 2011 in order to live in an owner-occupied house there, thus they represent a significant proportion of the overall population moving to Wyndham to purchase a house.

As discussed in the chapter 3.3 in more detail, the study elected to focus on residents from a Filipino and Indian background to have two comparable cases. The demographic profile shows similarities between the groups as well as differences. Both groups have migrated mainly via the skilled migration stream, have a tertiary education degree and are on average younger than the overall Victorian population. However, both groups have a gender imbalance with more Indian men and a higher number of Filipino women living in Victoria. Also, the main occupations and fields of employment differ between them. Even though both groups have a strong affiliation with religion, Filipinos are more likely to follow Western Catholicism and Indian residents Hinduism and Sikhism. These demographic and social differences shape both groups experiences of community in Wyndham.

4.3 Development of Wyndham

The City of Wyndham is located on the traditional land of the Woi Wurrung and Wudthaurung people of the Kulin nation, who remain the custodians of the land. British colonisation began in the early 19th century and the township of Wyndham was first mentioned in 1850 (Hocking 2013). Since then, the area has been recognised as a shire in the metropolitan area of Melbourne and, with the growth in population, declared the City of Wyndham in 1987.

Figure 8: Location of Wyndham



The City of Wyndham is a local government area in the state of Victoria. It is located on the western side of the metropolitan area of Melbourne and, covering an area of 542 km², it is around 20 to 50kms in distance from the central part of Melbourne. Wyndham is bounded in the east by the City of Hobsons Bay, in the north by the City of Brimbank and the City of Melton, and in the west by the City of Greater Geelong (Figure 8). Based on the growth area of Melbourne, new residential land in the emerging suburbs is mostly developed on previous farm land. The urban areas of Wyndham are mostly, except for a small part in the north-east, bound by undeveloped land and are thus distinguishably belonging to this local government area.

Table 10: Social Profile of Wyndham

Category	Wyndham		Greater Melbourne
	Total		
Population			
2011	166,021	+47.3%	+9.7%
2006	112,695	+32.8%	+7.0%
2001	84,861		
Birthplace			
Australia	100,769	60.7%	63.3%
Born-Overseas	56,392	34.0%	31.4%
Not stated	8,859	5.3%	5.3%
Year of Arrival of Overseas-Born Residents			
< 2000	26,246	46.5%	61.4%
2001 - 2005	9,837	17.4%	11.2%
2006 - 2011	17,991	31.9%	23.2%
Not stated	2,424	4.3%	4.2%
Age Groups			
0-24	61,527	37.1%	32.3%
25-44	58,469	35.2%	30.5%
45-64	34,625	20.9%	24.1%
> 65	11,400	6.9%	13.1%
Median Age	32		36
Employment			
Labour force	84,498	66.6%	62.5%
Unemployed	5,402	6.4%	5.5%
Household Income (in \$/week)			
Negative/nil income	721	1.3%	1.7%
1 - 999	15,829	29.1%	32.6%
1,000 – 1,999	17,458	32.1%	27.3%
2,000 – 2,999	10,274	18.9%	17.1%
3,000 – 3,999	3,427	6.3%	7.3%
> 4,000	1,311	2.4%	3.8%
Not stated	5,336	9.8%	10.4%
Median household income	1,410		1,333
Method of Travel to Work			
Public transport	4,955	6.3%	9.4%
Private vehicle	57,567	72.9%	66.2%
Combination of methods	4,756	6.0%	4.9%
Other methods or not stated	11,816	15.0%	19.5%

(Source: (ABS 2011b, 2012))

The population of the City of Wyndham grew to 166,021 residents in 2011, which is the latest available local census data (ABS 2011b). The number of people living there almost doubled between 2001 and 2011. This population growth is significantly higher than the average of the Greater Melbourne area, which grew by less than 20% in the same period to just under 4 million residents

(ibid.). This growth is likely to continue, as the Wyndham Council projects its population to reach over 420,000 residents by 2036 (Wyndham City Council 2016a).

The current population growth in Wyndham is especially fostered by residents who were born overseas moving there. Even though the composition of the origin of the residents, with around 61% born in Australia and 34% born overseas, is comparable to the average of the Greater Melbourne area, it is mainly the movement of recent migrants that is contributing to the population growth (ABS 2011b). Between 2006 and 2011, the number of residents born overseas rose from around 28,000 to over 56,000 (ABS 2012). Therefore, with 52%, the majority of the population growth in Wyndham has occurred through residents born overseas moving there in this period (Table 10). The main countries of origin are India with around 8,700, New Zealand with 5,100, England with 5,000 and the Philippines with 4,000 residents (ibid.). These four countries of origin constitute over 40% of the entire overseas-born population. With migrants moving to Wyndham mostly as young adults, it is in the age group above 25 years, in which the proportion of overseas-born residents is 43% higher than the total average (ibid.). This is especially pronounced for residents from certain countries of origin; for example, over 70% of all people born in India are between 25 and 44 years old (ibid.). At the same time, even though over 80% of residents younger than 24 are born in Australia, they may have diverse cultural backgrounds with their parents having migrated from overseas. Therefore, the majority of residents have a foreign ancestry with either one or both parents born overseas, compared to only 36% of people living there for whom both parents are born in Australia (ibid.).

Wyndham is characterised by a young population with a median age of 32, which is four years younger than the average of Melbourne (Table 10). Over 73% of the residents are younger than 44 years, compared to 63% in all other municipalities (ABS 2011b). The largest increase of age-cohorts between 2006 and 2011 is by residents aged between 0 to 4, 25 to 29 and 30 to 34 years (ABS 2012). These accounted for around a third of the overall population growth in Wyndham (ibid.). A significant proportion of residents moving to Wyndham therefore can be characterised as young families with children.

A higher proportion of the population in Wyndham is in the labour force in comparison to the area of Greater Melbourne. Of the people who are employed, around 68% are working full-time and the others are working part-time or currently away from work (ibid.). However, almost half of the female employed are working part-time – this is significantly higher than their male counterparts (ibid.). The main industries of employment are manufacturing, warehousing and the retail trade. Although the unemployment rate is 6.4%, which is higher than the average in Melbourne, the median household income is higher, with the majority of the households earning between \$1,000 and \$2,999 per week income (Table 10). In contrast, lower and higher household incomes are less represented in Wyndham than the Melbourne average.

Most residents are dependent on a private vehicle as their main method of travelling to work. This is considerably higher than for other areas in Melbourne. Only 12% of workers commute to their workplace by public transport or a combination of a car and train or bus (ibid.). The majority of people work outside of Wyndham and have to commute to other areas. Therefore, almost all households have a registered vehicle, with most having two or more (ABS 2011a).

Table 11: Housing Profile of Wyndham

Category	Wyndham		Greater Melbourne
	Total	In %	
Household Composition			
Couple family with no children	27,171	16.4%	19.6%
Couple family with children	91,007	54.8%	52.3%
One parent family	20,007	12.0%	11.1%
Other household forms	27,836	16.7%	17.0%
Household Size			
One person	9,217	17.0%	23.3%
Two people	16,085	29.6%	32.0%
Three to five people	26,529	48.9%	41.6%
Six or more	2,505	4.6%	3.2%
Average household size	2.9		2.6
Dwelling Structure			
Separate house	48,938	90.0%	72.6%
Semi-detached	2,973	5.5%	11.6%
Flat, unit or apartment	2,299	4.3%	15.3%
Other form	149	0.3%	0.5%
Housing Tenure Type			
Owned outright	11,488	20.9%	32.7%
Owned with mortgage	26,756	48.6%	36.8%
Rented	13,430	24.4%	27.2%
Other forms or not stated	3,349	6.1%	3.3%

(Source: (ABS 2011b, 2012))

Most households in Wyndham can be characterised as couple family with the majority of them having children. Besides one parent families, other household forms, including unrelated flatmates or co-tenants, comprise only 17% of the total (Table 11). Overall, the household composition is relatively similar to the average in Melbourne. However, the size of households differs considerably, as more people, on average, live in a household in Wyndham.

The dwelling structure of Wyndham is characterised by detached houses, which contribute to 90% of the entire housing stock (Table 11). This does not cater for diverse housing aspirations as only a small segment of dwellings provide two bedrooms or less, with over 96% of separate houses having three or more than four bedrooms (ABS 2012). The remaining 10% of the housing stock consists of semi-detached houses, such as townhouses or terraces, or apartments, flats and units. This is significantly lower than the 27% figure for the rest of Melbourne (ibid.). At the same time, the tenure type is comparable to the entire metropolitan area with roughly a quarter of the population renting and three-quarters owning their dwelling. The majority of residents in Wyndham own their own property. Around a quarter of dwellings are owned outright and half are owned whilst paying a mortgage, which is considerably higher than the average in Melbourne. Consistent with the growth in population, the housing stock has been growing in Wyndham as well. Between 2006 and 2011, the number of dwellings has increased from around 36,700 to over 54,300 (ibid.). In this period, therefore, more than 17,200 new separate or semi-detached houses have been constructed (ibid.).

Figure 9: SEIFA 2011 – IRSAD LGA

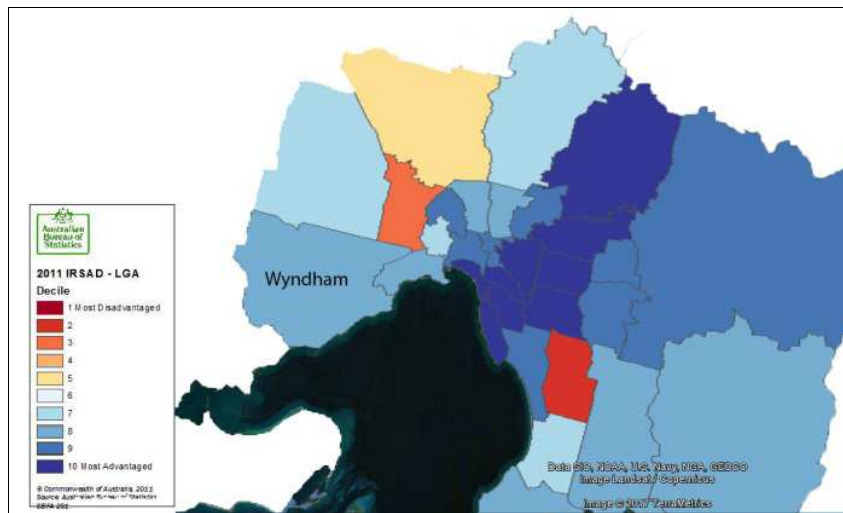
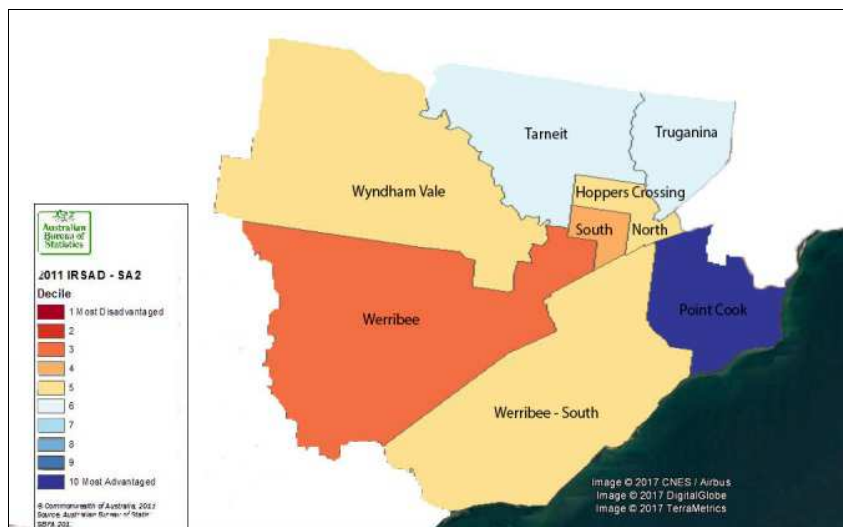


Figure 10: SEIFA 2011 – IRSAD SA2



(Source: (ABS 2011b); The Index of Relative Socio-economic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD) is a key index for the Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA). IRSAD summarises information about the economic and social conditions of people and households within an area, including both relative advantage and disadvantage measures.)

Ranking in the 8th decile of all local government areas in Australia, Wyndham in total achieves a relatively high IRSAD score of 1,007 (Figure 9). This means that it is relatively more advantaged than the mean score of all local government areas and neighbouring localities in Australia. However, the index varies considerably within Wyndham, as shown by Figure 10. Point Cook ranking in the 10th decile is one of the most advantaged suburbs within Australia. Ranking slightly higher than the average are Tarneit and Truganina. These suburbs are newly emerging suburbs with residents moving in rather recently. In contrast, more established areas, like Werribee or Hoppers Crossing, rank well below the average with the IRSAD score indicating relatively high disadvantage (Figure 10). The index therefore shows that economic and social conditions for households differ significantly in Wyndham.

The map displays the Urban Growth Boundary (UGB) for Wyndham City, outlined in a thick blue line with a serrated edge. The boundary encompasses a large area including Wyndham Vale, Werribee, and Werribee South. Major roads like the Hume Freeway (M8) and various local roads are shown. The map also indicates the location of the Werribee River and Port Phillip Bay. A legend at the bottom identifies symbols for Rail, Rail Station, Premium Station, Regional Rail Link, Urban Growth Boundary, RAAF, Retail, Reserve, Features of Interest, and Food Tech Precinct. A scale bar and an inset map of Victoria are also present.

The City of Wyndham is divided into nine urban suburbs and six rural areas. Of the 166,000 residents of Wyndham, almost 98% live in the suburbs of Hoppers Crossing, Point Cook, Tarneit, Truganina, Werribee, Williams Landing, and Wyndham Vale in 2011 (Table 11). Of these suburbs, Hoppers Crossing and Werribee are the more established areas with a limited increase in population. Between 2006 and 2011, the population of Werribee grew by only 3% and the number of residents in Hoppers Crossing has even slightly decreased (Table 11). In contrast, Point Cook, Tarneit, Truganina, Williams Landing, and Wyndham Vale are newly emerging suburbs characterised by a strong increase in population. The number of residents living in Wyndham Vale grew by 67% between 2006 and 2011 (Table 11). In all other suburbs, the population more than doubled in the same period (ABS 2011a). During this time, some areas of Tarneit and Truganina were completely newly developed and Williams Landing emerged as a distinct suburb. In 2016, the suburb of Wyndham Vale was divided into the more established part of Wyndham Vale and the growth area of Manor Lakes, which is now its own suburb. The development of Wyndham draws on the framework of the State government to plan Melbourne's growth areas and the extension of the urban growth boundary enabling new housing to be built in Wyndham's emerging suburbs (State of Victoria 2005). The residential planning is regulated by the council based on its current housing and neighbourhood strategy (Planisphere & Wyndham City Council 2015). This strategy aims at managing the increase in housing in an affordable and sustainable way as well as provides design guidelines for the built form of dwellings and neighbourhood character.

Table 11: Population Growth in Main Suburbs of Wyndham

Suburb	Population 2006	Population 2011	Born-Overseas 2011
Hoppers Crossing	38,122	37,617	30.7%
Point Cook	14,326	32,365	41.9%
Tarneit	7,403	21,804	39.3%
Truganina	2,761	9,138	44.6%
Werribee	36,519	37,678	27.0%
Wyndham Vale	10,438	17,294	24.8%
Wyndham (Total)	112,693	166,021	34.0%

(Source: (ABS 2011a))

In comparison to Hoppers Crossing and Werribee, where around a third of the population was born overseas, in the newly emerging suburbs almost half of the residents have an overseas origin (Table 11). With these suburbs growing overall, the population born overseas increased from around 9,300 in 2006 to over 26,900 in 2011 (ABS 2011a). In this period, they have contributed to more than half of the overall population growth. Between 2006 and 2011, more than 16,000 new dwellings were constructed in these areas (ABS 2012). A significant proportion of housing construction is occurring within Masterplanned Estates. Currently, in all of Wyndham, over 40 residential estates are developing or have been planned for future construction. These range from smaller developments with less than 100 allotments to larger estates that will accommodate over 20,000 residents upon completion. The 18 estates alone, of which the information in regard to number of houses is accessible, will provide a residential place for over 70,000 people. Therefore, a significant amount of the population of Wyndham will be living in MPEs and almost entire suburbs, such as Point Cook or Williams Landing, are characterised through these urban structures.

With Masterplanned Estates targeting home buyers and a higher proportion of residents settling in these new developments, the socio-demographic composition of these more recently urbanised areas is different as well. Indicators therefore can, for example, be the younger average age of the population as well as a more culturally diverse population. Wyndham Council is apparently aware of these changes by pronouncing multicultural visions in its policies and by emphasising challenges caused by the population growth (Wyndham City Council 2016a). From this perspective, the City of Wyndham is not only growing, but has changing urban structures as well as an internationalisation of its population, which are now becoming an integral part of local policies. In its community policies the council views its engagement to be multi-dimensional that is informed by expert's advice and driven by diverse local communities (Wyndham City Council 2017). Within this framework residents from culturally and linguistically diverse communities are recognised as a 'hard-to-reach' group and therefore require particular attention.

Overall, the City of Wyndham has been selected as a specific area to narrow down the spatial focus of the research. With Masterplanned Estates being a significant contributor to the growth of the city and the newly developing suburbs being characterised by a more culturally diverse population, it is this connection between housing structures and aspirations of its residents that seems particularly relevant to the research topic.

4.4 Development of Wyndham Gardens Estate

Wyndham Gardens Estate² (WGE) is located in the City of Wyndham bounded on one side by residential areas of a more established part of Wyndham and a major arterial road, but mostly surrounded by so-far undeveloped farmland. This will change over the coming years as further housing estates are developed. The estate itself is not completed yet and further stages of the development are being released for sale or are planned to be constructed in the future. The first land blocks were released around 2005 and residents have been living there since that time. At the time of the research more than 2,000 houses have been constructed and the estate is projected to be one of the largest in Wyndham.

Figure 12: Typical Masterplan of a MPE



(Display of a Masterplan similar to WGE. Source: (Cedar Woods), modified by author)

² Wyndham Gardens Estate is used as a pseudonym for the actual estate's name in order to provide anonymity of participants, who are involved in the local community and would otherwise be identifiable. Furthermore, figures and structures linking directly to the estate have been slightly altered.

The planning and on-going development of Wyndham Gardens Estate is led by a residential land development corporation, which is responsible for the construction of multiple other MPEs in Melbourne and other Australian cities. The developer provides display homes and is actively engaged in establishing the community of the estate. The vision for the estate is to facilitate a 'flourishing local community in a sustainable environment'. The developer is involved by holding various events, such as Australia Day celebrations or for the opening of new stages, setting up a fund for community groups and by supporting the social activities of residents. Besides that, a monthly newsletter is distributed to all households and current news is published on the estate's webpage. With the release of land being an on-going process in subsequent stages, the developer has set up a sales office in a central location, similar to as displayed in Figure 12. In addition to consulting potential new residents in the purchasing process, the centre displays information regarding the development of the estate via various posters and an architectural model of the entire estate. Throughout the local area, marketing sign boards indicate upcoming facilities and the progress of development. The term 'Wyndham Gardens' and the estate's logo is displayed at the main entry street as well as in various locations in the estate. Furthermore, the estate's branding is used for the naming of major roads and adopted by local facilities.

Central to the estate's plan is the incorporation of key social infrastructures. Located within the estate are several kindergartens and child-care centres, as well as a public school, which include all year levels from primary to secondary. Bordering the estate, a community centre has been set up, which contains a library, a cafe and various venues for hire. These venues are regularly booked by a local church and various social groups. Close to the main road entering the estate, as indicated in Figure 12, a shopping centre has opened up with a limited range of stores, such as a supermarket, fast food franchises, cafes, various retailers and an Indian grocery store. Public transport is available with multiple bus routes connecting the estate to Werribee, Hoppers Crossing and the new local train station, which is within walking distance for some of the residents. As the name 'Wyndham Gardens' indicates, gardens and parks are a central element of the plan. The main gardens will be located at the centre of the estate when all of the development is completed. Currently, the future gardens are only existent as main marketing images. Various sized parks are distributed around all parts of the estate. Some of these include playgrounds for children, exercise equipment, spaces for different sports, and BBQ facilities.

Located in WGE, various social groups and activities have formed locally. Several of these are advertised on the web page of the estate set up by the developer. Among the promoted groups is a residents' association, which invites residents for monthly meetings and organises additional local events. Making use of the sport fields located in the estate, several sport clubs have come into existence offering cricket, football, soccer and other team sports. Besides these activities in public places, residents have set up home-centred groups and stores. These are in many cases promoted virtually, like the local social media page. This page is named after the estate and has more than 2,000 subscribers at the time of the research.

Wyndham Gardens Estate was chosen as the focus of the study as it was regarded as an exemplary case for a MPE in Australia. The developer is actively marketing and engaged in terms of building a local community. As these narratives of having local social ties with the community were a central

aspect of the development, it seemed likely that residents would pursue such interaction or at least consider social aspects as well when purchasing their dwelling. The various social facilities and activities, as well as public places, such as the gardens as central part of the development, have made observations of social interactions in the estate possible. With various social groups meeting regularly, getting in touch with locally involved residents who should act as key informants seemed feasible. The social media page, in which local happenings are discussed regularly, has been an additional source of information. As the estate is a rather large housing development, recruiting a sufficient number of residents with Indian or Filipino origin was regarded as feasible. With all areas of WGE being publicly accessible, it was possible to conduct the study in the entire estate without making prior arrangements. Even though initial stages of the estate were released almost a decade ago, the development of the estate is an on-going process. Therefore, residents can reflect on the growth of the estate, but at the same time are experiencing the further construction with the developer still being active in place. Hence, centring the case study on WGE seemed suitable to address all of the objectives of the research.

4.5 Demographic Profile of Cohort

The research involved interviewing 27 residents of Indian or Filipino origin living in Wyndham, as per the methods described in Chapter 3. The following section describes the demographic profile of these participants and their housing arrangements (Table 12 & 13). Although the study aimed to have a relatively even gender distribution of participants, more male participants took part in the study as only eight women were recruited, discussed in more detail in chapter 3.4.2. With ten participants being from a Filipino background, they are less represented in the study than Indian residents (Table 12). Two participants who responded to the recruitment disclosed they were second-generation Indians born in Australia, originally from Fiji. The data gathered from these two interviews were treated acknowledging their deviating background to the general cohort of this study by only analysing their current experience in MPEs and not citing their adaptation process.

Table 12: Demographic Profile of Participants

Gender			Country of Birth	
Female	8		India	15
Male	19		Philippines	10
			Other	2
Year of Arrival			Age Cohort	
< 1990	1		25-34	6
1991-2000	5		35-44	13
2001-2005	9		45-54	3
2006-2010	5		>55	3
> 2011	5		Not stated	2
Not applicable	2			

Family Composition			Type of Education	
Couple family with children	17		University or other tertiary institution	19
Couple family with no children	9		Not stated	8
One parent family	1			

The majority of participants arrived in Australia since 2001, which is compatible with the recent increase in the overall Indian and Filipino population in Melbourne and Wyndham (Table 12). However, the period of settlement varies significantly between the Indian and Filipino cohort. All six participants settling before 2001 are of Filipino origin. This is consistent with the overall Filipino community in Wyndham, whereby almost half of the residents migrated to Australia before 2001 (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013b). In comparison, aligning with the cohort of the study, over 80% of residents of Indian origin moved after this date (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a). At the same time, the five participants who settled in Australia since 2011 are from an Indian or a Filipino background. With the focus of the study on the experience of rather recently settled migrants, the majority of participants were able to reflect on on-going settlement processes while insight in regard to the everyday life in Wyndham could be gained from longer settled participants.

For most of participants Wyndham was not the first place of residency in Australia. Some participants lived in the inner suburbs of Melbourne initially before moving to Wyndham. For others, the inner western suburbs of Melbourne, such as Footscray, Altona or Williamstown, were the first place of residency and they then chose to stay in the same geographical direction whilst moving further out to Wyndham. For some participants, Wyndham was the initial place of settlement due to pre-existing social networks. Being familiar with the area influenced the decision to move to Wyndham subsequently, even though some lived in other parts of Melbourne temporarily. Only four participants, who have moved to Australia rather recently, settled in Wyndham immediately without having an established network of relatives.

With most participants living in other parts of Melbourne before moving to Wyndham, their local settlement is even more recent than their arrival in Australia. Nineteen of the participants have moved to Wyndham since 2011 with some just completing their relocation to their new house in Wyndham. Even the residents who have been living in Wyndham for longer, have mostly changed places of residency by moving to the upcoming suburbs. In this regard, the research obtained the insights of residents who have just finalised relocating to their house or even moved during the fieldwork phase, and participants who have been living in their current dwelling for some time and thus can reflect on their choices of moving there as well as on the development of the area.

Participants predominantly migrated to Australia to join family already living in the country, to conduct further studies or for employment as a skilled worker. As student visas are only granted temporarily, the participants in this study have managed to become permanent residents. In accordance with immigration policies in which age is an influencing factor for granting a visa, most participants arrived in Australia in their 20s or early 30s (Table 12). Having moved to Australia in many cases around a decade ago, they are now between 35 and 44 years old. Of the remaining participants, six are between 25 and 34 years of age and another six are older than 45 (Table 12). The older participants are mostly of Filipino origin and settled in Australia before 2001. Overall, the

cohort consists mostly of younger participants, which aligns with the statistical indicators of Wyndham showing that it is young families who are moving to the area. In accordance with immigration policies, the cohort can be described as skilled. The majority of participants have a degree from a university or other tertiary institution (Table 12). Besides those having a degree from an overseas university, nine participants came to Melbourne to study and have completed their degree subsequently.

All of the participants are living with relatives rather than sharing with unrelated housemates. In most cases, the household can be described as 'couple family with children' (Table 12). These families consist usually of one or two children. As nearly all participants did not have any children before moving to Wyndham the children are predominantly at the time of the research of pre-school age being looked after at home or going to child care. For participants having children in the future was one of the reasons to move to a larger house.

Table 13: Household Profile of Participants

Suburb of Residency		Tenure Type	
Hoppers Crossing	6	Owned in MPE	16
Point Cook	7	Rented in MPE	4
Tarneit	3	Owned in other areas	7
Truganina	1		
Werribee	1	Income	
Williams Landing	3	Not stated	27
Wyndham Vale	6		
Method of Travel to Work		Place of Employment*	
Train	8	Wyndham	10
Car	14	Western suburbs	4
Mix of transport	3	Melbourne	15
Not stated/not working	2	No paid employment	2

* Multiple answers possible

The study included participants residing in each main suburb of Wyndham (Table 13). In accordance with the research objectives, most of the participants are living in the emerging suburbs, such as Point Cook, Tarneit, Truganina, Williams Landing and Wyndham Vale. With regard to the Indian and Filipino cohort, there is no specific trend with a group living predominantly in one suburb. With the research trying to contrast the experience of residents living in a MPE with those not living in a MPE, some participants were recruited residing in other areas. Seven of these residents involved in the study are based in the more established areas of Hoppers Crossing and Werribee and are dwelling there as owner-occupiers. The other 20 participants are living in various MPEs within Wyndham (see Table 1). The majority of those have bought a house there and live in it. Four of the participants are renting a house in a MPE. Three have recently arrived in Australia in the period between 2013 and 2015 and their current rental is their first place of residency. In the long term, they are aspiring to purchase their own house with Wyndham being the preferred location. The other person renting is not planning to change his tenure type in the near future as it would mean a more permanent

settlement in Australia. However, this information was not particularly pursued as the household income is not regarded to have any influence on the lived experience of community.

All participants are living in detached houses. This is comparable with the housing stock in Wyndham consisting of over 90% of detached houses (ABS 2012) and the focus on this type of dwelling in MPEs, even though some developments are incorporating townhouses and apartments. Almost all participants living in a MPE have constructed a new house. In comparison, the residents residing in other areas have all purchased pre-established houses. As most land development in Wyndham is happening in MPEs, considerably less land is available in the more established suburbs of Hoppers Crossing and Werribee to construct a new house. Therefore, MPEs are the primary means for residents wanting to purchase land and build their own dwelling. The study could not relate participants' tenure choice to their household income as all participants chose not to disclose any income data (Table 13). Due to the research relying on narrative interviews this, presumably sensitive, aspect was not discussed. This could be a limitation of the research method. Participant's income has influenced their move to Wyndham as affordability was mentioned to be a key reason for selecting to buy a house in the outer suburbs.

Most of the participating residents are working full-time and, of the remaining participants, one is on maternity leave and the other has retired. Those working part-time are all women combining home-based work with the upbringing of children. The place of employment is mainly divided between the inner city of Melbourne and Wyndham or neighbouring suburbs, such as Laverton, Tullamarine or Altona. Some participants have several jobs in different locations. The people working locally are mainly self-employed or work in the fields of logistics, manufacturing and the real estate industry. In contrast, those working in the inner city of Melbourne are employed as a manager, IT-developer, academic researcher or engineer. In most cases, these are male participants. With most participants, at least partially working outside of Wyndham, commuting is part of their everyday experience (Table 13). With two train lines connecting Wyndham to the inner city of Melbourne, most of the participants working there are commuting via public transport. Some are using a mix of transport methods by taking their car to the closest train station and then taking the train. Meanwhile, participants working in Wyndham or neighbouring suburbs on the western side of Melbourne are mostly reliant on their car to reach their place of employment.

Overall, the participants can be described as 'successful' migrants in terms of settling in Australia long-term as permanent residents and being able to purchase their own dwelling. The key characteristics of the cohort are that the majority has arrived in Australia since 2001 and has moved to Wyndham subsequently. The cohort is coined by residents in their 30s or early 40s living as a family with half of these having children (Table 12). Most of the participants have built a house in a MPE in one of the emerging suburbs of Wyndham and are living there as an owner-occupier. All of these aspects are similar for the Indian and Filipino cohort. However, they differ slightly in regard to other characteristics. Participants of Filipino origin have comparatively arrived in Australia at an earlier stage and are employed locally in 'blue collar' professions. In contrast, the Indian cohort tends to be employed in work in the inner city of Melbourne, for example in the fields of management or IT. The reason for the majority of Indian participants to move to Australia is to undertake further studies compared to arriving on a skilled visa or family reunion scheme, which is the predominant means of arrival for Filipinos.

5. EVERYDAY LIFE AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITY

5.1 Experience of Community in Different Social Realms

This chapter presents findings to address the first main research question: “How do residents from a Filipino or Indian background living in Masterplanned Estates experience community?” Findings show that the way developers implement community-building in MPEs differs to the everyday life of participants and their social meanings and practices concerning community. These experiences of community are encompassed in the private, parochial, as well as in the public realm. To analytically frame these different realms, this chapter distinguishes between them being grounded in the estate, participants’ dwellings and their involvement in Filipino or Indian groups located in Wyndham.

The chapter focuses on the everyday life of the participants and their current experience of community, drawing on data from the empirical case study. From early indications, findings showed that the importance of the MPE varied between participants with the parochial realm of the estate not being necessarily the only scale for local social interaction. This is in accordance with existing literature assessing residents’ social involvement to their estate as a ‘sense of community’ (Goodman & Douglas 2010; Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). This finding is notable because, presumably, migrants who have moved to a new social environment may specifically seek community to provide a sense of belonging. Contrary to this assumption, participants did not express the particular desire to move to a MPE in order to live in a close-knit neighbourhood. Examining the other spatial scales, participants are nevertheless involved in a variety of communities. This aligns with other studies undertaken in Australia emphasising the role of the immediate neighbourhood and social networks for migrants settling in (Beer & Morphett 2002; Edgar 2014). This chapter therefore concludes that the study focusing on a cohort from culturally diverse backgrounds provides new insights into their lived experience as, for them, community remains relevant despite the conceptualisation in MPEs not fulfilling their aspirations entirely. This knowledge might enable MPEs to create a more socially inclusive environment.

Section 5.2 presents the participants’ perspective on the parochial realm of the estate, as it is the central aspect of promoting community by the developers of MPEs. The focus is on their experience of living in these developments. The participants’ use of social facilities will be discussed, as well as their involvement and perspective on the local community. The main argument is that in contrast to the ideas of community-building within the parochial realm of the estate, this is not the only level on which community is experienced by participants. This finding, as discussed previously, is comparable to other recent research undertaken. However, the study extends existing knowledge by identifying MPEs as emerging places to enable culturally diverse practices as no pre-established community exists.

Building on the finding that community is experienced outside of the parochial realm, section 5.3 focuses on the importance of the dwelling for participants’ socialising and their interaction in the immediate neighbourhood. For participants, living in their own house has a specific significance with regard to their social life and settlement in Australia. However, social interaction between neighbours is seen as lacking in comparison to their experience in India or the Philippines by several

participants. This is related to the built environment in MPEs and perceived functions of neighbourhood in Australian society inhibiting more contacts. This accords to existing literature emphasising a lack of local activities amplified through home-centred life focusing on privacy (Richards 1990). In the context of MPEs, this thesis offers new insights in terms of diverging aspirations towards the structure and function of the house. This section emphasises that owning a house is not necessarily bound within the private realm, but social practices may involve the immediate neighbourhood more tightly.

Section 5.4 considers the public realm, including the cultural diversity, commonalities and differences, and role of social networks in Wyndham more broadly. Out of the analysis emerges an argument in Section 5.5 that the way community is constructed or thought about varies between people of different cultural backgrounds. This finding draws upon the involvement of participants in Filipino and Indian groups in Wyndham. This section differentiates important aspects of community for the participants, but it does not aim to artificially create a cohesive Indian or Filipino group as individual experiences vary and heterogeneous experiences exist. Nevertheless, social networks can be particularly important in the initial settlement phase and can affect the desire to be socially involved in the MPE. This recognition has not been linked to the existing literature referring to MPEs so far.

Overall, the chapter shows that expectations and practices can be discerned between the different spatial scales in which participants are experiencing community. These have no distinctive boundaries and thus the realms overlap. The participants have an intertwined experience of community, which may differ on an individual basis. Although the findings link with existing literature on MPEs and settlement of migrants in Australia, both fields have not yet been related to each other in depth. This is where the thesis offers new insights by introducing a novel analytical framework of understanding the experience of community.

5.2 Everyday Life in the Estate: Experiences of Community

5.2.1 Diverse Role of Estate for Everyday Life

Despite MPEs being marketed and developed around providing social infrastructure locally, residents are not necessarily involved in any social groups or making use of these facilities within the estate. For most participants the reason to move to a MPE is primarily driven by the desire to live in an owner-occupied house. Wyndham was chosen as the place of residence due to the affordability of houses relative to the commuting distances to the inner city. Hence, this decision was not necessarily linked with the aspiration to live in a MPE.

"I am not [attending any social events locally in the estate] or even trying to keep myself abreast of what is happening. [...] Part of the reason is that I have been here 15 years, I have plenty of my own friends. There is enough business of my own social life than to worry to meet other people. Plus, locality-wise [some friends] are nearby, my brother is here [...]. So, there are 4 or 5 people around the suburb." (Manoj, Indian, male)

The experience of living in these estates is diverse between participants in terms of their everyday life and aspirations of connecting to other residents. For some, having localised community ties is seen as important, whereas for others it does not have any relevance. The statement of Manoj raises several important aspects with regard to aspirations to be locally involved and the awareness of events or activities happening in the estate. For some of the participants, their social life is based in networks that are not connected to the MPE. These social contacts can absorb most of their leisure time, fulfilling the desire for regular social activities, making them unlikely to seek new involvements based in the estate. Thus, possibilities for social interaction in the estate are substituted by other local engagements, discussed in more detail in section 5.4.6. Possibly linked with this, residents are not always conscious about local events, existing facilities or activities happening within the estate. They are intentionally not plugged in to the local networks that would raise their consciousness of these activities.

"That's a tricky thing, that's something that probably needs a bit more attention, 'How do you engage those brand-new residents?' [...] Something that we are looking at doing in the other new developments is approaching the developers. So, when [residents] move into their house they get a pack of what is going on, including some information about us. We engage with the local schools a lot as well." (Liam, Neighbourhood Hub)

One specific feature of MPEs is that, as emerging places, they are formative and dynamic; new social groups are being created and facilities are opening up that do not necessarily attract much publicity. Material responses from local governments and developers broaden the role of community centres beyond the physical building to provide a focal point for information exchange. Branded as 'neighbourhood hubs' by Wyndham council, the function of community centres is to approach and engage with new residents. In this process, services are reconfiguring to accommodate diverse needs with residents actively participating in shaping this process.

"[The social media page] keeps me up to date with what is happening in the [local estate]. Whether it is a news flash of what has happened or something is coming up, like the market I know at least a month before. Otherwise if it is not advertised [...] you might not know about it." (Diya, Indian, female)

For other participants, the estate is the main place for their social involvement in various local groups and the facilities of the estate are an important venue for their everyday life. Within the estate, the shopping centre is a focal point for frequent use. Shops and in particular stores catering for Indian or Filipino groceries are a place of encounter. Other relevant areas of social interaction are community centres, which often include a library, child care and various venues to hire, which cater for regular social groups and accommodate special events. Similarly, playgrounds and parks in the estate are used by some participants for recreational purposes or to organise outdoor events. Residents not only make use of existing social facilities, but are active members in shaping the estate's social environment by setting up groups and organising events. For example, in Wyndham

Gardens Estate a social media group has been founded by the residents themselves and at the time of the study more than 2,000 members had subscribed to the page. On this social media platform, local information is disseminated and neighbourhood topics discussed. These kinds of groups create not only an attachment to the place, but enable people living there to interact with each other. In one instance, residents have organised a common event through the social media group without knowing each other closely previously.

“For me [...] it is just being recognised where you live. The name of [Wyndham Gardens] gives you kind of recognition that you are in a better established community now. That you have your own budget, that you have your own council representation. [...] It is more of a psychological perspective that you're being recognised. You're proud to have this name. That you can say 'Where do you live?' and you have the [estate] address, which is a suburb by itself.” (Sarah, Filipino, female)

“There has been a very strong advocacy for the estate to be its own suburb, based exactly on [where] the development starts and ends. So clearly people have felt very strongly connected to their estate [...] that they have convinced the state government to change the name, which is a pretty big achievement.” (Janet, Wyndham council)

The experience of community differs between the participants living in a MPE and those residing in the more established parts of Wyndham. Even though the masterplanning ideas of community-building are not necessarily a driver for people to move there, the estate can become a supplementary place for social interaction. In contrast to other areas in Wyndham that do not provide any social facilities in residential areas, these are developing as distinguishable geographical entities creating a reference point for residents regarding their sense of belonging. The case of WGE highlights the development of MPEs as individual places. Not only is the developer marketing it as a distinctive place and design guidelines fostering this image, but residents, like Sarah, perceive the estate as their place of residence. This has led to residents petitioning for the creation of their own suburb based on the boundaries of the MPE, hence separating it from the older part of the existing suburb. In 2016, it became an officially recognised suburb named after the estate.

“Newer places are more expensive and there are probably younger people buying, who are professional, working. They have worked their way up. These houses haven't been handed over to them by their parents.” (Manoj, Indian, male)

A differentiating factor to the more established areas of Wyndham is the perception of the demography of residents living in MPEs. Other residents are characterised by participants to be in a similar life-stage by moving there as a young family and first home buyer. Also, the ability to purchase a house gives them a trustworthy prospect. They are associated with being hard-working and therefore respectable citizens. As the estate mainly contains residents with a ‘good background’, the neighbourhood is regarded as a safe place for families.

“We knew straightaway after having the child the first requirement would be to have a bigger house so that there is enough space for the kid to play and move around. But at the same time that house would be in a place where there are enough parks, child-care facilities and schools available. [Another reason was] living where there are kids of the same age group, so that they have friends locally as well.” (Rohan, Indian, male)

For participants with children, the role of the estate for everyday activities may have an increased affinity. With schools, kindergartens and other educational facilities being central features of most developments, these create local bonds between children as well as parents. Having these in the estate is stated by participants to be significant in order to enable their children to walk to school by themselves. Also, having neighbours with children in the same age group is seen as beneficial to building relationships with other families locally. Additionally, the facilities serve not only for educational purposes, but provide contacts between parents. For example, the school in WGE offers extra-curricular activities for children as well as for adults. The venues of the college are used by outside groups for meetings, sport activities and classes catering for various interests. In particular, for participants currently not in paid employment and looking after children at home, having these kinds of local social facilities becomes especially important.

"I'm not studying anymore, so I don't need the library. I'm already occupied with other stuff. But yes, I did go to have a look what's on offer, which resources are in the library. [...] But not [involved] in the Footy Club or Cricket Club [...] People are actively engaged in their Footy clubs and Cricket clubs and the Soccer club, which is good. It is a lot of active involvement for kids." (Ishaan, Indian, male)

However, for some participants the estate is not part of their social life as the provided facilities do not cater for their lifestyle or aspirations. With MPEs including social infrastructure, which is targeting mostly families with young children, other requirements are not necessarily met. Participants are missing additional services provided in their vicinity, such as a gym or a pub, which would be of interest for them. However, this may only be an initial experience as the estate is developed over a longer period. Hence, not all plans can be realised from the beginning of the development onwards. Nevertheless, as MPEs are marketed as close-knit neighbourhoods in which a vibrant social atmosphere can be experienced, this forged expectation is not necessarily congruent with the experienced reality of participants.

In summary, the role of the estate for the experience of community varies between participants. Building connections with other residents and making use of social groups is dependent on individual aspirations, with these expectations being influenced by the life-stage of residents as the social infrastructure provided in MPEs is mostly targeting specific needs. The findings show that for some the estate does not have any relevance to their everyday life, whereas other participants are involved in the estate and, as active members, shape the social environment. For them, the estate is one spatial scale in which they are experiencing community. But it is questionable how far these groups go beyond their members and personal networks and encompass the estate as a cohesive entity. Despite the focus on younger families, the parochial realm of the MPE is hence not necessarily the main reference for social interaction creating an overarching, meaningful community for all residents.

5.2.2 'Sense of Community'

The social involvement varies between participants, with not all of them being engaged in their estate. This finding aligns with other studies focusing on the meaning of community for residents living in MPEs in Australia. The role of life-stages is similarly emphasised by Nicholls et al. (2017), who argue that these shape the interest and capacity of residents to be locally involved. The social infrastructure provided in MPEs is assessed by Williams et al. (2010) to be varyingly important depending on the life-stage. They conclude that for younger parents, local social facilities are of special significance and children going to local schools or kindergartens serve as social bridges between parents. In contrast, MPEs are less designed for the needs and aspirations of others, such as teenagers or older people. This is in accordance with the findings of this research, which demonstrates that participants with children are more likely to be socially involved in their estate as this lacks facilities catering to the interests of residents from other life-stages.

"It is false advertising. It is very false advertising, because you see all these brochures with happy faces, people walking in parks and interacting. [...] That normally doesn't happen."
(Rohan, Indian, male)

Even for participants who are locally involved, this does not translate to the development of one cohesive community based in the estate. This finding accords to other research showing that community engagement is often non-existent in MPEs and residents' initiatives are limited. Residents do not inherently have the desire to contribute to the local community by being involved in any social groups or establishing frequent contacts with neighbours. Instead this conceptualisation of community is associated with aesthetic standards, provided amenities and as a geographic membership (Richards 1990). Residents instead are experiencing a social environment in which: "[...] someone was 'doing' community" (Walters & Rosenblatt 2008).

"You can get people active more if they have more time. For example, I used to work in the city. So I used to travel around 3 to 3.5 hours, because I was taking the bus at that time and then the train. If there was local employment, you save around 3 hours every day. You are less tired and then you can play a game of badminton or table tennis or even cricket."
(Matthew, Indian, male)

Even if participants seek more frequent social contacts with other residents and to be more involved in the estates, living in an outer suburb constrains their capacity to be interactive. As most participants do not work locally, commuting to their workplace takes up a significant amount of their daily free-time. The extract from Matthew demonstrates the difficulties faced by residents living in outer suburbs and commuting to the inner city for work in terms of their ability to get in touch with other residents or to be locally involved. This aligns with other research arguing that without more local employment options the ability of developers to create a vibrant social atmosphere is constrained (Johnson, Andrews & Warner 2016; Nicholls, Maller & Phelan 2017). These limitations of available recreational time not only affect the social life of individual residents, but create the overall feeling *that* 'nobody's home' in the estate (Richards 1990).

"If I'm looking into the older parts of Werribee you'll mainly see houses without any parks or anything else. Whereas in the new communities there is always a common place. That actually encourages your neighbours to get to know each other, because you'll talk, you have got kids, who are playing together. The newer developments are targeting towards that, which is really good." (David, Indian, male)

The shortcoming of MPEs to generate a more vibrant social life is not exclusively linked to the built structures and promoted narratives of the developments, but is influenced also by the suburban setting of these estates. Therefore, this criticism of MPEs as not fully achieving their promises has to be curtailed as, in comparison to other suburban areas, these at least incorporate social infrastructure in their plans (Goodman & Douglas 2010). The findings show that local experiences differ between residents living in a MPE and those residing in more established areas of Wyndham. Even though participants are not necessarily locally involved, they are aware of social facilities existing in their estate and have the possibility to make use of them. This finding is in accordance with the argument from Johnson (2010) that any kind of community is better than none.

5.2.3 Places of Recognition and Cultural Diversity

Despite similarities to the findings of other studies, the experience of community of the participants differs in several respects. As discussed previously, the aspirations of residents with culturally diverse backgrounds living in MPEs has been insufficiently considered in the Australian context (Warr & Robson 2013). The cohort provides new insights in regard to the implications of an MPE planned social environment for migrants moving there.

The idea of community-building does not play a primary role for participants selecting a MPE as their future place of residency. This finding is consistent with previous research (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). Having a local community might have a specific allure for migrants moving to a new place in order to establish contacts and create a sense of belonging. However, the research found that, where community was sought, it was not associated with the MPE intent, but rather more likely to be associated with some form of ethnic or linguistic alignment. Nevertheless, being involved in local communities is something participants desire, which may differ from the aspirations of other residents. Walters et al. (2008) argue that in Australian society there is no strong cultural resource for place-based communities, hence, the relevance of space for local social interaction is limited. It is plausible that, since being involved in communities is not necessarily part of everyday life, Anglo-Australian residents are not seeking community in MPEs. This could, at least partly, explain the failure of community planning to create more than a 'sense of community' in MPEs (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009), even though this does not imply that more social involvement is not sought after. Nicholls et al. (2017) emphasise that some residents are seeking to be more connected in a place-based community, which influences their choice of moving to a MPE. This aspiration is based on lack of social interaction in their earlier place of residency and the hope to have a more in-depth relationship with neighbours, as well as previous experiences of living in an active social environment. This relates to many of the participants of this study, who have grown up with a locally based community.

“I try to emphasise the importance of the community. What I mean is the Filipino community, because that is your belonging and your sense of interaction. [...] It is important, because in your actual neighbourhood you can't feel that.” (Michael, Filipino, male)

The above statement by Michael shows that the concept of community has importance for everyday life to achieve a sense of belonging and interaction with others. However, he cannot find this kind of community in the neighbourhood and therefore gets involved in other forms. This shift in spatial scales is discussed in section 5.4.6. For the context of MPEs, this finding opposes the existing literature by showing that place-based communities can be relevant for some residents. Their aspiration is based on previous experiences of community, which were an essential part of everyday life. Yet, this notion of a place-based community refers to more intrinsic daily social activities instead of conscious decisions to be involved in a close-knit neighbourhood, which the marketing of MPEs promotes.

“New area always has the potential of changing, moulding itself to how the larger community wants it to be. Rather than you going somewhere and you don't like it, either you adjust to things or you want others to adjust to you. The newer community is more resistant, they appreciate the multicultural part. Older [parts of Wyndham], I can't say this exactly, but there are some times when you come across people, who might not be as welcoming to all the types of cultural backgrounds.” (Diya, Indian, female)

Even though social aspects of the MPEs are not directly linked to the decision to choose a MPE as place of residency, the created social environment does affect the participants' experience of community. As emerging places, these are perceived by residents to accommodate cultural diversity better. With the MPEs in the study not yet or just recently completed, the social environment in these places is still developing. The sense of belonging and interaction between residents might strengthen as the estate matures (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013). Additionally, participants have the feeling that they are part of this process and as initial actors are able to shape the place. Thus, they are not moving into a pre-established community, which is defined by other residents having lived there for a sustained period of time. Also, with a larger amount of the population coming from diverse cultural backgrounds, participants perceive differences to be more accepted. In her quote, Diya compares her experiences of living in a MPE to the more established areas of Wyndham, in which she has not felt as welcomed and has witnessed racism. Thus, coming from a culturally diverse background, one might be regarded as an outsider changing the social environment in comparison to the developing areas, in which the emerging community draws on all these differences.

In these aspects, the study provides new insights, arguing that the social environment of MPEs has a special importance for residents with culturally diverse backgrounds. Even though the marketing of community is not a primary reason for participants to move there, their previous experience and the inclusionary feature of emerging places make the social environment of MPEs distinctive for them. Going beyond simplistic notions of creating community, these developments might include diverse understandings of community, which shall be discussed in the following sections. As newly emerging places, they provide the chance to establish an environment recognising cultural differences and enabling social cohesion. As 'everybody' is new, these places might empower migrants to be an integral part of shaping the community without the need to challenge (not yet existing) pre-established norms and behaviours.

5.3 Community in the Private Realm

5.3.1 Situating the Private Realm

The house and the immediate neighbourhood are a central spatial scale for residents' local socialising. Understanding that the functional role of the house can go beyond the private realm, in which personal ties among household members and neighbours can be experienced, shifts the focus of social interaction to the connection between the dwelling and its surrounding. The following section argues that the private realm plays a pivotal role in the experience of community and for some participants the distinction between the parochial and private is blurred. This section discusses the interaction of participants with their neighbours and the role of the house in their local social life. Although interaction with neighbours might be sought after, the actual experience differs between participants. Nevertheless, the house plays a central role for social activities of participants. Thus, ownership of a house can be related to the decisions around settling in Australia and is associated with the desire to build connections with neighbours.

5.3.2 Social Role of the House

The house and the immediate neighbourhood are at the centre for social activities of participants living in MPEs. In their everyday life in their house, participants have diverse aspirations and experiences towards their interaction with their neighbours. For some, regular contact with their neighbours is not important, whereas for others this is sought after.

"We greet each other whenever we are out, especially when you mow the grass or bring out the rubbish bin. When we have functions, I invite them to my home. My neighbour would say, 'If you need something or if you are away, let me know and I'll look after the house.' It's good; I do the same for them." (Angelo, Filipino, male)

The interaction with neighbours is described by most participants as a cordial, friendly relationship, which is mainly based on short conversations and greetings in the form of, 'hello, how are you?' Besides minor instances of noise disturbance, no problems were mentioned. However, some participants have more contact with their neighbours and even invite each other over. This can be at more regular intervals as part of everyday life, in which neighbours would come over for coffee, dinner or a chat. Besides that, invitations are centred on special occasions, such as Christmas, New Year or Diwali, or to celebrate family events, like birthdays.

"A reason why I wanted to stick to the newer part of the West is, because there were a lot of younger, newer families moving to there. There is going to be a higher concentration of schools and child cares in the coming years. My kid will get the opportunity to interact with a lot of local kids as well. [...] Point Cook had a lot younger, white-collar population compared to the predominantly blue-collar population in Hoppers Crossing and Werribee. Being a white-collar job person myself, I wanted my kid to socialise with similar kids, because they would have a similar sort of upbringing compared to the others." (Rohan, Indian, male)

In particular, for participants with children, having neighbourhood contacts is more frequently mentioned. With other residents in the vicinity having children of the same age, social contacts are

established between neighbours through them. Local schools and child-care centres may facilitate these, as well as interactions becoming more frequent with the children playing together and parents taking care of them. Having other young families living close-by is, as mentioned previously, a reason for moving to a MPE and thus creates a certain aspiration towards social interaction in the neighbourhood. In addition to the commonalities of being in the same life situation, as a young family, having a good relationship with neighbours is important for some participants. Their aspiration is to get to know them better and be able to rely on them, to take care of children or look after the house when they are not there.

"The neighbourhood as such doesn't make a difference to us, because we are here to stay. Who your neighbours are, whether they come and go doesn't make a difference. But we would like nice neighbours." (Guillermo, Indian, male)

However, the notion of living in a 'good' neighbourhood is not necessarily based solely on the prospects for social interactions. It is also related to ontological and practical security; the idea that other residents are known and therefore perceived as decent people not causing any trouble. In this sense, for some participants interacting with neighbours socially is not relevant and they are not aspiring to have any meaningful connection in their daily life with them. This is especially, for participants who have lived in Australia for several years and have built up a social network, and so meeting new people in their vicinity becomes less relevant. Even for participants who consider the neighbourhood as an important aspect of their social life, building up this relationship is not straightforward, as responses may vary between neighbours.

"When neighbours move in you tend to say 'hi', give them chocolates or cakes. Just to welcome them in the neighbourhood. So that's a first step. And then, if they have got kids, as soon as your kids are playing outside, they will actually come out and play. You'll be talking to your neighbours sitting at the fence for an hour or so while your kids are playing out there. So it is not inviting them specifically. It is just about building the relationship and they know that they are welcome in." (David, Indian, male)

With these relationships between neighbours needing to be established, participants see their role in stepping up and creating these connections. In particular, with some of the places of residency still developing, new neighbours are moving in, and building local social relationships is a work in progress. Therefore, residents seeking local social interaction have to reach out themselves.

"It is no interaction at all. Everybody lives, especially the neighbours, we live in our own world. Actually, even when you are entering or leaving the house you don't see them. [...] It's very minimal interaction with the neighbours, hardly any." (Emmy, Indian, female)

However, this is constrained by the development in the form of detached houses and the daily routines of most residents. With other residents being at work during the day and spending a significant amount of time commuting, people are usually at home only in the evenings and the weekends. Having limited time, participants themselves often prefer to spend this time with their family rather than socialising with neighbours. Additionally, participants rely mostly on driving their car as their preferred mode of mobility. With residents less likely to walk, the possibility of meeting and interacting with neighbours is therefore limited. Having these initial contacts is regarded as a necessity to build up trust and develop more interactive relationships. So, even if participants are

seeking more frequent contacts with neighbours or trying to build up a more substantial relationship with them, they are constrained by their everyday practices as well as the structure of the built environment. This missing interaction is part of the experience of participants living in these suburbs, in which neighbourhood is not perceived to be elemental for socialising in Australian society. This shall be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.2.

"I am definitely making sure my social interaction is a lot more compared to the previous home, because we want this to be our forever home. So, we want to put in a lot more effort in this house than the previous house. We definitely want to have a big social circle." (Rohan, Indian, male)

Purchasing a house has a symbolic meaning attached to it, as well as influencing the role of the house for social interaction. For the participants, this materiality shows not only their settling in a new country, but as well their success in a different society. The perspective that the place is one's own gives a sense of accomplishment that after migrating to a new country one has achieved something. Knowing that the house is going to be the place of residency for the long term influences the desire to build up a local social network and get involved in the neighbourhood. In comparison to the experience of living in a rental property in which the tenure is only temporary, creating a relationship with neighbours is more sought after. Living in a place for a longer period of time enables residents to reach out to others and gradually establish these local connections.

"That's why we have a big house – every time there is somebody who lost his job, are on temporary visa, cannot afford the rent, they can come here and live here until they either go back home or find a job. So, our house is always open for those." (Sarah, Filipino, female)

Being a house-owner shapes the position of participants being locally involved in Indian or Filipino social networks within these as well. In many cases, the residential situation of their members is uncertain as some have just settled in Australia, are only on temporary visas, or face precarious or unreliable employment situations. As some participants initially stayed with relatives or friends in Wyndham, this experience is built upon reciprocity. Accommodating other Filipinos or Indians during their search for a place to stay is perceived as part of one's role as a house owner. This experience differs to other residents, whose social networks face less instability. Therefore, being a home owner has a special importance in these networks and the dwelling is an asset supporting others.

"That's what my purpose was: to have a get together, to have a cup of coffee and have a BBQ together. [...] I don't think I can stay in a little area and then not be able to invite friends. But that's the thing, we love our gatherings and it would be nice to have a bigger space for everyone." (Patricia, Filipina, female)

Hosting social events is an aspiration for most of the Filipino participants, as well as for some of the Indian ones. The ability to accommodate these by having a larger recreational area is mentioned by Patricia and others as a key requirement for the house. These home-based social interactions include specific festivities, such as Diwali, in which it is a cultural custom to visit friends, as well as more regular social activities. In particular, for the Filipino cohort the house is stated to be the central place for socialising with other Filipinos.

5.3.3 Home-Ownership and Settlement

In the context of MPEs, social aspirations of participants are mostly centred on their home and family. This finding aligns with existing literature emphasising the role of the private realm of the house as the primary spatial scale in which residents socialise (Dowling, Atkinson & McGuirk 2010; Richards 1990). This stands in contrast to the estate level, as residents are not necessarily involved in social activities or events in their MPE. Despite the importance of the dwelling as the place for social interaction, this does not imply that participants are in touch with their neighbours. Other studies highlight that social contacts between neighbours may be limited (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009).

Partially, this is in accordance with the findings of this research in which the overall neighbourhood is mostly described as lacking a communal atmosphere. The relationship with neighbours is often characterised as cordial and friendly, but not invoking any further ties. Yet, some participants are more involved with certain neighbours. With these frequent contacts, a more personal relationship is established. These divergent aspirations align with Nicholls et al. (2017) who argue that for some residents a reason to move to a MPE is to build up local social contacts that may have been lacking in their previous place of residency, or conversely were a common feature of this. For participants, as shall be discussed in section 6.2, their cultural background may have an impact, as well as living in a social environment that contains residents from a range of different origins.

"You need to see somebody coming in or going out. Then you can say, 'Oh, hi, how are you?' But no, you hardly see anybody. People just step out from the home, go in the garage, they get in their car and they drive straight away. So, you don't see people. When they come back they straight away step in to the garage, shut the garage and they are in. Same in our household." (Emmy, Indian, female)"

Even though some participants seek more social interaction in their neighbourhood, the built environment constrains getting in touch with other residents. This relates to suburban housing structures and regulations in Australia emphasising the importance of privacy (Davison 1999). As this purposefully limits the possibility of residents overlooking neighbouring properties, it also constrains informal contacts between them. As neighbours are not seen frequently, participants state that this affects their ability to build up a social relationship with them. In some cases, as shall be discussed in the following chapter on adaptation, participants have changed the structure of the house and their social activities to enable more regular contact with other residents.

"[Owning a house] gives you a sense of satisfaction and [...] accomplishment. It gives you security, 'Yeah, now we are settled in Australia'. A year ago, we were not, like half of my luggage was still unpacked because ... I knew that I am going to move out of the rental someday. But after moving, I took the liberty to decorate the house and buy stuff, get the garden done. That affects your daily routine and it affects you, you are freer." (Shreya, Indian, female)

The ownership of a house has a social meaning for participants in terms of their settlement in Australia and local social interaction. For some participants, being able to live in their own place in the long term provides the basis to get connected with other residents. This aligns with Australian

society emphasising the idea of home ownership as a necessary step to become a 'true' part of the community (Lewis 1999). For migrants, the role of the house, hence, can be linked to their decision to stay in Australia and become part of the larger society. Also, for themselves, home ownership offers a sense of continuity and stability. This is seen as important for migrants in their quest for status and implies their commitment to the community (Levin 2012; Skop & Li 2005). Building upon this, the house plays an important role for participants as part of their socialising. Drawing on research in the Philippines, Aguilar (2009) argues that the house is a key social unit that goes beyond functioning as a dwelling to being the central place related to social and cultural practices. Relating this to the Australian context, research has shown that migrants may maintain this associated function of the house, for example, by making it the central site for networks in terms of their socialising (Warr & Robson 2013). Accordingly, the findings emphasise that for participants their house may perform a more extended role than providing a shelter.

5.3.4 Intersection of the House with Neighbourhood

Even though the everyday life of participants is mostly home and family centred, aspirations regarding domestic social activities extend beyond the private realm. These are shaped through the involvement in social networks, having multi-generational households and the desire to be in touch with neighbours more frequently. This connection between the house and the neighbourhood has not previously been specifically researched in the context of the MPE. Particularly, the focus on the cultural background of residents in this study provides new insights for this field of research.

Besides the desire of home ownership, the main reason for participants to purchase a house in Wyndham was to be able to accommodate additional family members or visiting friends. Therefore, a requirement for the house was that it contains at least four bedrooms. With several participants having younger children or planning to start a family, moving to a larger house is seen as a necessity. This should enable the children to have individual bedrooms, separate living rooms, and have enough space for recreational play. This aligns with the tendency of MPEs to attract mostly younger families (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013). However, coming from an Indian or Filipino cultural background as well as migrating to Australia has created some specific aspirations.

"I knew my parents would be coming over and living with me. So, I designed the house keeping in mind that I really need individual, private bedrooms and areas. It should be sufficient for 4 to 5 people to live in. [...] The structure of my family going forward was kept in mind. (Manoj, Indian, male)

Multi-generational households are a common feature in Filipino and Indian society (de Lepervanche 1984; Zubiri et al. 2010). Living together with the older generation is seen to be a normal part of everyday life. In the Indian case, as it is a patriarchal society, it is usually the parents from the husband's side who would relocate. For Manoj and other participants, being able to host parents, at least temporarily depending on the visa situation and other factors, is an integral consideration for the layout of the new house, i.e. multiple bedrooms and a spacious recreational space. In addition to their parents, hosting other relatives from the expanded family who have migrated to Australia is

contemplated in order to facilitate their settlement process. In particular, for those participants having lived initially with relatives themselves, reciprocating this favour is an expectation. Hence, being a home owner can shape the role in Filipino or Indian social networks and amplifies their desire of purchasing for this purpose an appropriate dwelling. In this regard, houses meeting these requirements located in Wyndham are regarded as more preferable than smaller houses or apartments in more central areas within the same price range.

"[...] in a house there is just a couple in the house. During the day the house is locked, because we are working. Our immediate neighbour is a retired couple. So, they are mostly home or going to friends' place. But we don't really get time to talk to them. For example, when my parents came here they were talking quite frequently, because my parents were mostly staying home. If you have more connections you get to know people easier." (Deepak, Indian, male)

In several cases, participants stated that their household, at least temporarily, encompasses additional members resulting in the place being inhabited during working hours as well. This aspect differs from the notion of 'nobody's home', in which neighbourhood interaction is limited by residents not being at home during most of the day (Richards 1990). In some cases, participants get to know their neighbours more closely through other household members who have been in touch with them. This finding extends the argument of Williams et al. (2010), who argue that social interactions in the MPE and neighbourhood are dependent on the life-stages of residents. For example, as social facilities are centred on education, children may serve as social bridges for residents, while for other groups, such as teenagers or self-employed women, these places are inadequately equipped. Similarly, the composition of the household encompassing several life-stages also may alter local social interaction between residents by different domestic daily patterns, which can foster neighbourhood contacts.

"The neighbours, you say 'hi, hello', but there is no bonding. Well, my Filipino neighbour, she, most of the times, she says 'hello' and she comes to us. We have a bit of a chat, Filipino talk. They also do invite us, if they have a birthday celebration. Whereas our other neighbours, it's just 'hi, hello'." (Michael, Filipino, male)

Although participants mostly do not describe the atmosphere of their immediate surrounding as lively, some seek to have more interaction with their neighbours. The culturally diverse population of MPEs influences this experience. This finding stands in contrast to the limited importance of neighbourhood in Australian society, which is argued to lack a history of traditional concepts of place-based communities with suburban structure fostering individualism and privacy (Pusey 2003; Walters & Rosenblatt 2008). For participants, the local experience of living in Wyndham is mainly depicted as missing social interaction, which shall be discussed further in the context of them adapting to their new environment. This aspiration to be in touch more with others locally is in some cases shared with neighbours from culturally diverse backgrounds. In particular, with other residents who share the same cultural practices, festivities can be shared. In this sense, these relationships can be distinctive towards the overall experience in the MPEs.

These aspirations of residents from culturally diverse backgrounds towards their house and the immediate neighbourhood have not been specifically researched in the context of MPEs. Understanding this social role of the house for participants provides new insights as the function of a house varies in different environments. As argued by Aguilar in the Filipino case: “[the house] must be understood in relation to other houses, social relations, cultural practices, and the physical environment. The house inscribes individual, familiar, and social meanings onto the landscape.” (2009, p. 92). In addition to enabling privacy, the role of the house may include to bridge and connect the private realm to the neighbourhood. This is contrary to the regular conceptualisation of houses in Australian society in which private and public spaces are clearly separated (Johnson 2006). This relationship between the experience of settlement and designated spaces of migrant houses, in which the distinction between domestic space and public accessibility is blurred, has not been sufficiently researched so far in the Australian context (Dufty-Jones & Rogers 2015; Levin 2012).

5.4 Cultural Diversity in Wyndham: The Public Realm

5.4.1 Role of the Public Realm

The social interaction of participants outside their house is not necessarily bound by the estate, and the broader area of Wyndham provides an additional scale for further community involvement. With the growth of the population of Filipino and Indian origin, a range of groups and organisations have been established in Wyndham facilitating regular social activities, providing communication platforms, as well as catering for cultural and religious practices. Being located in the public realm, which are the non-private areas of urban settlements in which individuals in co-presence tend to be personally unfamiliar, interaction is chosen in specific settings. With these groups associated with Indian or Filipino cultural and social practices, participants experience another layer of community. The section argues that the involvement of participants is diverse, but some prefer to be engaged in Filipino or Indian groups rather than in the parochial realm of the estate.

The following sections will portray first the involvements of participants in Indian groups and then discuss the engagement of Filipinos. Even though the experience for each participant differs individually and there is not “one” overarching Filipino or Indian community, these groups offer an additional layer of social interaction and can be distinguished from each other. Therefore, differences between the way Indian and Filipino groups are structured is an important consideration.

5.4.2 Indian Groups in Wyndham

With the growth of the Indian population in Wyndham, various social groups associating themselves with Indian cultural, religious and social practices have been established. The involvement in these varies between individual participants as some are active members whereas others do not seek any connection to other Indian residents or affiliated organisations. Hence, even though the relevance for the experience of community is based on the individual, these groups create another scale for social interaction.

The various groups promoting Indian culture have created highly visible events in Wyndham. An example is the establishment of the locally based Diwali and Holi-Festival, which both represent major cultural events in Indian culture, with up to 30,000 people attending. Other events include the annual Bollywood Movie festival in Werribee. This significance of the Indian community locally and for Victoria has been recognised by the Multicultural Commission of Victoria with the plan to create an Indian Cultural Precinct with Wyndham being one of the possible locations (Wyndham City Council 2016b). With the City of Wyndham, next to the south-eastern suburbs around the City of Dandenong, being the main place for Indians to live in Melbourne, local community leaders have advocated to locate this precinct in Wyndham. In the 2012 local council elections, two residents from an Indian background were elected, with one of them leading the multicultural portfolio. Even though their specific background does not necessarily have any relevance for their political role, having councillors from an Indian background is perceived by participants as a symbolic establishment for the Indian population in Wyndham.

“It would be easier, because there is already an established community. There are Indian shops, lots of Indian shops here, so it is very convenient. There are temples here. Of course, it is much easier. A lot of other Indians as well. If they need any sort of assistance, people in the community will help.” (Rakesh, Indian, male)

Beyond these broader activities happening in Wyndham, participants are involved in a range of Indian networks that have been set up and are developing. The engagement incorporates taking part in regular social and cultural activities, such as those provided by the Western Gymkhana Club, or around specific needs or certain activities, such as the Indian mothers’ playgroup or Bollywood Dancers. Despite the existence of various groups catering for diverse interests, not all research participants actively participate in these.

“It is more Indian community there, so there is more focus on Indian activities in the area, festivals. I don't personally participate too much in that, because to me it feels like we are not assimilating. A lot of people I know, they'll corner themselves to certain activities, individuals, groups only rather than mixing it up. So that was never an attraction.” (Manoj, Indian, male)

More commonly followed by participants are several social media groups, which are specifically set up for the Indian population living in Wyndham. These function as a platform for sharing information on cultural events and local happenings, as well as for emphasising local community needs. These webpages are not only used as a source of information, but facilitate connections within the Indian population of Wyndham. For example, one participant promoted her own business primarily through these sites and built up not only professional, but also personal contacts through these

networks. Other participants use these social media pages to find required services or to meet up for local events. Having locally targeted platforms provides residents with social interactions, which do not necessarily exist for other groups in Wyndham.

"We got connected more to the Indian community by me getting involved in leading the worship. Because of that, we got connected with the worship team and with families. Otherwise we used to be just like any other person and just probably meet a few and then go. But being involved in a role there it was easier to connect with people. People were connecting with us as well." (Sanjiv, Indian, male)

Information specifically targeting the Indian population in Wyndham is provided through different radio programs, magazines or newspapers. These are distributed free of cost to Indian grocery stores. These stores, which are widely distributed in Wyndham, function not only as a place to buy groceries and other specific items, but serve as well as a community information hub. With local Indian magazines, and advertisements for Indian businesses or events on display, and being a place to meet other Indians, they provide local community information and connections. For some participants, gaining these contact details from other Indian residents has some significance. Next to these more informal community networks, there are more facilitated community hubs. One example therefore is the existence of various religious institutions, with multiple Hindu or Sikh temples, mosques and churches being located in Wyndham. These function not only as a space for spiritual practice, but as well as a site for community bonding.

"So that has actually forced us to actually come together and not see those differences. Even though we may have individual community groups within the Indian culture, from the outside it is one. I think that is the end, within community it's an Indian community group, it's an Indian festival." (David, Indian, male)

It is important in this context to state that there is not only one homogeneous Indian community. The country of India is characterised by multiple cultures, for example, through different languages, religions or regional particularities. This is also reflected in the City of Wyndham. Next to various religious sites, which are not specifically confined to people from India, there are several groups based on common regional backgrounds or languages. Examples for these kinds of groups are the Wyndham Malayalee Community Group or the Bengali Society of Melbourne, which target people coming from specific regions. At the same time, moving to another country and having the same background can have a bonding effect in overcoming differences. In this sense, even though there is not the one Indian community and internal sub-groups exist, there can be an overarching identification with 'Indian culture' simultaneously as with other distinct cultural groups.

5.4.3 Filipino Groups in Wyndham

The Filipino population in Wyndham has been significantly growing in the last decade and different groups and networks associated with Filipino culture have emerged. Similar to the Indian participants, coming from the Philippines does not necessarily mean that residents are involved in any local groups. However, with the experience of participants being that social networks are more informally organised, most have built up a local connection to other Filipinos in Wyndham.

“Because everyone has their own group now, as you probably know, we are more clannish than most of the migrants here. Because we speak different languages, if you are an Ilocano you tend to go to an Ilocano. If you are a Visay, you go to a Visay group and so forth. But during those times there was just one Filipino group.” (Javier, Filipino, male)

The different groups in Wyndham, which are focusing on social issues in the Philippines, providing social services and activities for Filipinos or catering for different cultural and religious practices, are internally dispersed and not necessarily connected to each other. In particular, these internal differences are based on the various regions in the Philippines, such as the Ilongo Association of Victoria or Australian Visayan Association of Victoria Incorporation. Interestingly, these Filipino sub-groups only began establishing themselves with the growth of the Filipino community and the subsequent differentiation with this. Regardless of coming from different regions and going to specific associations in Australia, for some participants the Filipino background remains to provide a common identity.

“I didn't know that there was anything community-wise happening here. Me and my mum were heavily involved in the Preston area, like dinner, dances and festivals. [...] But I'm not aware of anything here. They don't advertise it. [...] They have a couple of Filipino shops in Werribee, which I visit.” (Kim, Filipino, female)

Even though having contact with other Filipinos is argued to be an important part of the experience of community, events or groups associated with Filipino culture seem to be less visible in Wyndham. Certainly, the population of residents originating from the Philippines is a lot smaller than the Indian community in Wyndham. In Wyndham itself, no Filipino-specific events or groups have been publicly advertised during the time of the research and no particular Filipino social media group is locally existent. Though several Filipino groups have been established in Wyndham, it seems that community is produced more through informal social gatherings, such as having barbecues in one's own backyard.

“A lot of the time Filipinos migrate here, because they have family already here, a maybe 99% of the time. A small percentage of Filipino's who migrate to Australia may have met men from Australia and move here. That is how it starts. They will establish themselves in Australia and then slowly bring the family over, one by one.” (Kyle, Filipino, male)

As discussed previously, many of the Filipino participants decided to migrate to Australia because they had relatives already living in Wyndham. Therefore, they already had a social network in place after moving there and did not need to build local social connections from scratch. This extended family remains an important source of social interaction.

“But Filipinos are more adaptable, right? They do that initially anyway and eventually they move to where they feel more comfortable. But for us, we started here. The family is now more than a 100 in our clan, not just mine, but my wife's clan as well, they were already here. So, it's grown. [...] So, the Filipino community is growing. It's growing very well. Filipinos integrate better.” (Jesse, Migrant Centre)

For Filipinos, one participant argued, it is important to blend in. This perception may be triggered through similarities of Filipino culture to Australian society in some ways. One example is that with the Catholic faith being the main religion of the Philippines, when coming to Australia, no new places of worship need to be established. With many Filipinos and other immigrants coming from more religiously orientated backgrounds, some churches in Wyndham have experienced a strong growth in membership and are positioning themselves as international churches. It is in this sense that already existing groups or networks are taken up and transformed by new residents. For them, these groups are a possible venue for getting in touch with the broader host society. For example, for some participants the reason to go to church services lies beyond their primary role, such as providing a place to worship, but includes as well the opportunity to connect with other people and be involved in social activities. One Catholic Church in Wyndham responded to this need by setting up individual groups by nationality in order to provide new members with an initial way of meeting others with a similar background to integrate them further into the broader church community.

A uniting factor for Filipino residents is their common connection to the Philippines. With some participants being active in groups that support various issues in their country of origin, this shared background creates a social bond between members. For example, the church set up aid programs in the Philippines and other countries. This international orientation is perceived to be part of the reason for the growth of the congregation with members from various nations, as well as driven simultaneously by these, for whom these programs provided a further link to their country of origin. For most participants, sending money to family there as remittances is a regular activity. As various stores in Wyndham offer these services in addition to selling groceries, they have become a socialising place to meet other Filipinos.

5.4.4 Commonalities and Differences

The way participants are involved in activities or groups associated with Filipino or Indian culture is complex. Instead of experiencing one cohesive locally based community, residents can be engaged in multiple, overlapping communities. These can be grounded in actual events or regular meetings, as well as projected ones in social media or the feeling of belonging to an imagined one. The background from India or the Philippines may provide a commonality with others in terms of cultural practices, shared habits and existing social networks. These can help, in particular, with settling in Wyndham and getting in touch with other residents. Both groups have been experiencing a significant growth in the population of Indian or Filipino origin moving to Wyndham since 2001 (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2013a, 2013b). In this period, new groups and facilities connecting residents have been emerging and previously existing organisations are adapting to new members as well. However, neither the Indian nor Filipino population in Wyndham constitutes one

homogeneous group as regional associations coexist. Participants are rather involved in a variety of groups and social activities. Also, it does not mean that all residents of Filipino or Indian origin see themselves exclusively aligned to their cultural background. Some participants are actively involved in groups associated with social and cultural practices from their country of origin, whilst for others these do not have any particular relevance for their everyday life.

"I love their numbers; everybody [in the Indian community] from different ages really participates [in setting up cultural festivities]. To put up that big of an event requires a lot of volunteering time from a lot of people. It is amazing. The Filipinos won't have that. [...] The Indians really do a good job." (Sarah, Filipino, female)

"It's ironic though, because we live in a society that is generally close-knit. We have extended families; during reunions you can see whole clan there. So, people come from all over the Philippines. But on the other hand, it is ironic, because we are fragmented as we are proud of our regionalistic identities: 'This one is better than the other one'". (Daniel, Filipino, male)

Despite these similarities between the experiences of the Filipino and Indian participants, differences between them exist too. The Indian culture is highly visible in Wyndham and a range of social media pages have been created. In comparison, the Filipino groups are less active in the public realm of Wyndham. Filipino participants are rather experiencing community in the form of informal social networks, which are based on personal connections and the house is a primary place for social interaction. Even though regionalist groups exist for both, there is no overarching organisation associated with Filipino culture based in Wyndham. Also, religion is mentioned by many participants as a central form of affiliation to Indian or Filipino culture. While the Filipino cohort is mainly connected to Christian churches in Wyndham and thus is integrated into international congregations, this differs for the Indian cohort. With Hinduism and Sikhism consisting mainly of people from the Indian sub-continent, places of worship, as well as associated festivities and religious practices, relate to people from the same background.

"I went here through my cousin and my cousin went here through her husband and her husband went here through her sister. [...] It is just a coincidence I live in the Western suburbs, because the one that brought me here lived in the Western suburbs. I did try to move when I was single closer to the city, because I used to work in Coburg. But when I got married I said that it has more advantages for me to go back. Because I could say to my cousin: 'Could you mind my kids for a couple of hours?'" (Javier, Filipino, male)

"A lot of people from India come with a similar road map. They were here one, two, three years, they got their PR [permanent residency] approved. Once they got a PR they wanted to think of stability, family, kids." (Ankit, Indian, male)

Another aspect is the different migration history. Many of the Indian participants came to Melbourne to study and, after having lived in Australia for some time, subsequently moved out to Wyndham to purchase a house. In contrast, the Filipino cohort can be rather characterised as a chain migration with participants moving initially in Wyndham to live with relatives. Therefore, social networks in Wyndham associated with Indian and Filipino culture have a different meaning for them. For Filipinos, these often consist of personal networks based on the extended family. In contrast, for Indians, these are rather established through friendships that have formed via social activities.

5.4.5 Role of Social Networks

Within Wyndham, a range of events, groups and organisations have emerged which are associated with Filipino and Indian culture. As highlighted previously, for participants, these have a varying importance for their everyday life. This relates to the literature regarding migrant settlement in Australia, which emphasises that migrants from one country of origin should not be seen as one homogeneous group with the cultural background having a diverging meaning for the individual (Al-Ali & Koser 2002; Fincher & Iverson 2008). Nevertheless, this section argues that in accordance with other studies undertaken, social networks in the initial settlement process, as well as in maintaining cultural practices, are relevant for participants to some degree.

For several participants, being involved in social networks within Indian or Filipino groups was especially important in the initial settlement period. Being part of a social group is seen as supportive of their migration process. Some of the participants have even set up their own community programs with the focus of helping others to settle in the area. This aligns with the research on migrants in Australia emphasising the supportive role of existing groups in terms of employment opportunities, housing, socialising and gaining an understanding of Australian society (Beer & Morphett 2002; Edgar 2014; Galvin 1980). These can function to provide stability and maintain self-esteem for migrants in an initially unfamiliar social environment in which previous capabilities and experiences are undermined (Castles, Hugo & Vasta 2013; Lakha, Stevenson & Dhanji 2015). For some participants, in particular for those of Filipino origin, other relatives were already living in the Wyndham area and drove their choice of moving there. These forms of chain migration have been outlined to produce more concentrated settlement patterns of migrant groups to some degree in Australia (Burnley 2001). These social networks are regarded as of particular relevance in outer suburban areas as without these kinds of connections, social life in these places can be isolating (Bilimoria & Ruchira 1988).

Even though this accords to some cases in which participants have moved to Wyndham directly and seek to build social connections to other residents, the majority of participants had a different experience. For them, the primary reason to move to Wyndham was the affordability of houses, and the local social networks played a secondary role. Having relocated to Wyndham subsequently, they had built up their social circle prior to the move and the social networks associated with Indian and Filipino culture were more sought after in order to pursue everyday cultural practices. Nevertheless, for the initial settlement period, the experience of participants can be related to the identified role of these social networks to facilitate the move to a new social environment and create a sense of belonging.

Beyond the initial settlement phase, participants are, to varying degrees, involved in groups and activities associated with Indian and Filipino culture. For the Indian cohort, this is explained by a survey undertaken by Bilimoria et al. (1988) that reveals that a majority are active in cultural associations affiliated with their background. The authors argue that cultural identity is maintained by keeping close links to others from the same background through, for example, observing festive days, culinary habits and speaking native languages. As previously discussed, this relates to the experience of participants as their engagement can range from social groups to everyday practices.

This is not distinctive to other migrant groups in Australia, which have been found to be connected in multiple ways (Burnley 2001; Lakha & Stevenson 2001).

However, this association with others from the same background can be of varying importance for participants. For some, this does not form a substantive feature for their social life and is limited to culinary habits or taking part in festivities occasionally. Therefore, this differs from the observation that: “Cultural identity is a strong point in the make-up of the Indian immigrant” (Bilimoria & Ruchira 1988, p. 129). Partially, this can be explained by the different migration trajectory of participants in comparison to those arriving in the late 1980s. In particular, for those migrating as students and then deciding to settle in Australia, these connections are more likely to be weaker. Another factor in regard to the involvement in social networks is additional family members. Even though some participants do not aspire to be engaged themselves, they may seek to establish more frequent contact for their parents or children. This aligns with the fear of Indian migrants that their children may lose their cultural roots (Singh 2016).

Besides the individual participants being differently attached to Indian or Filipino networks, neither of these can be seen as one homogeneous group referring to the same cultural background. One source of heterogeneity is the origin from a specific region in India or the Philippines. In Wyndham, several regionally focused associations have been founded that are being attended by participants. Even if they are not actively engaged in these groups, regional differences manifest themselves in diverse languages and distinct cultural practices. This aligns with the findings of other studies showing that regional associations have been transferred to their new social environment by Filipino as well as Indian migrants (Bilimoria & Ruchira 1988; Lozanovska 2016; Zubiri et al. 2010). Despite these differences, this does not mean that for participants an overarching identification with India or the Philippines does not exist. This fits with the statement that “Paradoxically, heterogeneity and unity coexist” (Lakha & Stevenson 2001, p. 257). Instead of subscribing to one cultural identity, migrants can have dynamic multiple identities (Castles & Miller 2003; Lakha, Stevenson & Dhanji 2015). Homogeneous descriptions are rather made from an outside perspective (Al-Ali & Koser 2002; Fincher & Iverson 2008).

Overall, the findings of the research align with the other studies emphasising the role of social networks. The importance of these depends on the individual migrant and can be especially relevant in the initial settlement phase. In subsequent stages, which are often the case in this cohort, associations to Indian and Filipino cultures are more individually selected around certain groups, events or habits dependent on life-stages.

5.4.6 Public Realm as Additional Layer

The social networks of the participants go beyond their immediate neighbourhood and are not especially bound by their MPE. Even though places like Wyndham Gardens Estate offer a range of social groups and facilities, this does not imply that the participants’ experiences of community are limited to the estate. Instead, a more complex network of multiple communities has emerged. This experience of residents from culturally diverse backgrounds has not been researched in the context

of MPEs to date (Warr & Robson 2013; Wood, L, Frank & Giles-Corti 2010). The following section argues that this new insight is related to an altered relationship of participants to the narrative of local community-building in MPEs, the apprehension of diverse aspirations towards community, and the focus on emerging places in which a social environment is still developing.

“The Featherbrooke estate? No, I don't even know if there is a group like that. And if there was, I probably might not join still, because I am finding that the more groups you join, the more blustered with all this information and sometimes it's too much. Because the Point Cook Indian community group itself keeps sending you so much information that sometimes it is overwhelming. If I did join other groups, then I potentially would be totally turned off and wouldn't want to check any of them. Just having one group works well for me.” (Rohan, Indian, male)

As discussed previously, social networks of Indian and Filipino residents provide a sense of belonging, especially in the initial phase of settling. Even though these might not have the same importance for participants having lived in Australia for longer, other forms of local social involvement, such as in the MPE, may be not desired for either. Despite these confinements, as the quote from Rohan shows, being connected to groups from the same cultural background can provide an additional layer for place-based community. This relationship between the parochial realm of the MPE and social interactions located in the public realm in Wyndham will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion to this chapter. Overall, being involved in local groups associated with Filipino and Indian culture may affect the desire to be socially involved in the estate, although these different layers are not necessarily conflicting as participants can be part of multiple communities.

“Something that is apparent to us in the community engagement is that [...], each one has been a bit different. So we started with the Indian community and found it was very easy to compile a list of community leaders [...]. They have sports clubs and spiritual organisations with temples, so there is a leader in the spiritual organisation and there is a leader in each sports club. But not all cultures organise in that way. [...] So there is a bit of learning for us, because communities keep changing. [...] We need to recognise that it is not organised in the same way for every community.” (Janet, Wyndham council)

With participants living in emerging areas of Wyndham, the newness of the place gives them the sense that they can establish their own identity and build up their own communities. With the municipality having a very diverse international population, some participants argue that this has made the process of settling in their new neighbourhoods easier. This development of social networks in newly developing places structured around concepts of MPEs has not been researched specifically. As the analysis of the Filipino and Indian social involvement shows, both experience differences in their community formation. This aspect provides new insights to the current vision of Wyndham Council for the future ‘Diverse People, One Community and Our Future’ (Wyndham City Council 2014a). It aims at creating an inclusionary place by focusing on the diversity of its population, which may have different needs and culturally specific practices. The recognition that cultural groups are differently structured and the social meaning of community varies implies that different approaches are needed to reach out to these groups to engage them in the social development of the place. This diverse experience challenges the simplistic notion promoted in the development of MPEs to deliver one cohesive place-based community.

5.5 Community Between the Parochial, Private and Public Realms

This chapter has presented the participants' experiences of community by distinguishing between the parochial realm of the MPE, the private realm situated in the house and immediate neighbourhood, as well as Filipino and Indian groups in Wyndham expressed in the public realm. Contrary to the narrative of community-building through developers of MPEs, participants are not necessarily socially involved in the estate. Therefore, this chapter has argued that in the participants' experience, the MPE does not form one cohesive place-based community. Instead, the findings show that for participants community takes on multiple, overlapping forms expressed in varying spatial scales.

The importance of the MPE for their everyday social life differs between participants and not all are necessarily involved in the estate. Instead, in accordance with other studies, the social role of the estate can be characterised as providing a 'sense of community' and targeting specific life-stages, generally families with young children. However, it can be argued that in comparison to other outer-suburban areas, MPEs at least offer some social infrastructure. Additionally, in the Wyndham case, these estates differ to the more established areas as they have a more culturally diverse population and are newly emerging places. Therefore, participants are experiencing that they can be an integral part of shaping the social environment without challenging pre-established norms and practices. Instead of being mainly involved in the parochial realm of the estate, the everyday social life of participants is centred on their family and home. In particular, coming from an Indian or Filipino cultural background, the house plays an important role for socialising. In the participants' expectation, the functional role of houses goes beyond providing shelter to facilitating social interaction within the neighbourhood. Even though participants aspire to be in touch more with their neighbours, many describe their neighbourhood as lacking social interaction. This aligns with findings of other studies on the importance of privacy for domestic social activities in Australian society. This differs to the aspiration of several participants for whom the distinction between the private and public realm is blurred. In addition to the place-based communities in MPEs, participants are involved in a range of Indian or Filipino groups in Wyndham. As these cater for distinctive practices associated with their cultural background, they can become the primary layer for social connections. In particular, for participants settled recently, these groups can provide initial social contacts. This experience of community can affect participants' involvement in the estate.

Participants are involved in multiple communities, which can be located between and across the different realms. This does not align with the narrative of creating one cohesive community in a MPE that is many cases promoted as such by their developers. What distinguishes the cohort from the findings of other studies is their expectation of locally based social interaction, the social role of the house, and their involvement in networks associated with Indian or Filipino culture. These diverging experiences do not necessarily locate community in the parochial realm and therefore the importance of the estate may be diminished. As will be discussed in the following chapter, reflecting on the social meaning and practices associated with community in India or the Philippines, participants state that this differs to its conceptualisation in MPEs in Wyndham. By distinguishing the experience of community between the public, parochial and private, this chapter argues that the cohort offers new insights into the everyday social life of residents living in MPEs.

6. ACCULTURATION TO A PLANNED SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

6.1 Addressing Processes of Adaptation

Drawing on the various experiences of community by participants, this chapter addresses the second main research question: “Through which processes of adaptation have migrants modified their aspirations to community?” The findings show that participants are experiencing community living in Wyndham differently to India or the Philippines. Therefore, the chapter argues that the social environment of a MPE contends previously held perceptions of community. The adaptation process is based on individual acculturation strategies situated between adjusting to Australian society and maintaining cultural practices. Within this process, participants modify their aspirations of community to align with the functional role of the social realms.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the reflection of participants on their previous experience of community in India or the Philippines and the differences to their new social environment living in a MPE. With neighbourhood interaction being less frequent than in India or the Philippines, to be socially involved requires an active step. Rather, community in Wyndham is perceived to be structured in a more regulated, formal way. Hence, participants are adjusting to the settings of the environment by engaging in communities in other ways.

Drawing on these experiences, the following section addresses how moving to a new social environment has affected participants’ social practices related to community. Participants’ aspirations differ on an individual basis with regard to their relationship to society. Thus, the emphasis is on the process of settling in Australia, personal aspirations, and dealing with adjusting cultural practices. The importance of being involved in Indian or Filipino groups varies significantly between participants, although for most, their cultural background continues to be important to a varying degree. Social practices are maintained and, in particular for residents with children, teaching them their cultural heritage remains relevant. But participants are noticing that not all practices are transferrable to the new social environment and are adapting these in order to fit in to Australian society. Therefore, it shall be argued that their adaptation is a process of finding a balance between integrating into the wider society and being involved in Indian or Filipino customs.

The findings show that moving to a new environment may have multiple outcomes and is dependent on individuals, their family and friend networks, as well as on the host society. This aligns with Berry’s (1992, 1997) concept of acculturation, which stresses that adaptation can take multiple forms and individuals may choose between different acculturation strategies. At the same time, settling in a country is to some extent a challenging process framed as ‘acculturative stress’ by Ward et al. (2003). For the cohort, however, this was only partly true, as previous experiences have mitigated this exposure.

6.2 Reflection on Differences to the Philippines and India

Reflecting on their background, participants emphasise the frequency of interaction with neighbours and express similar experiences in India or the Philippines. Domestic life is not necessarily restrained within the private dwelling, but extends to encompass the parochial realm. In these previous experiences, neighbours were involved in daily activities. The neighbourhood was the central scale to which participants reflect on their connection to grounded communities.

“In the Philippines you actually live with your neighbour. Because your cousin is your neighbour, your auntie is your neighbour, your teacher is your neighbour. There is a sense of community. If I lack rice in the Philippines and I don't have any money, I just go to my neighbours' house to lend me a couple of kilos of rice.” (Javier, Filipino, male)

“In India you pretty much know every single person throughout your whole street literally. The kids will play every evening as I remember growing up. So, neighbours and community mean a whole big deal to Indians. It means a lot of bonding.” (Diya, Indian, female)

In India or the Philippines, the immediate neighbourhood is considered to be an integral part of their daily social life. People would know most of their neighbours personally with their relationship going beyond informal ties. As the quote from Javier highlights, neighbours can include extended family members, as well as people with whom they are in touch in their daily life, as these are active locally as teachers, store owners and others. With households consisting usually of multiple generations and in some cases including non-family members like house-maids, domestic life is described as lively. With houses being occupied by a household member most of the time, it is common for neighbours to come over without any prior invitation as they can expect that somebody is at home. In this sense, participants describe these interactions between neighbours to be informal, as visits do not need to be planned and arranged in advance. Also, domestic life is not confined to the boundaries of the house due to everyday socialising being situated in the broader neighbourhood. In her statement, Diya remembers as a child playing on the street with it becoming an important place for social interaction. The experience of neighbourhood is thus referred to as an ingrained part of everyday life, with contact between neighbours being frequent and spontaneous.

“It feels different, it feels different. [...] Because you know your neighbours, you talk to them. Here, you rarely find or see your neighbours. So that's how different the social life is, [...] In the Philippines, most people know their neighbours [...], we would say it is a given. Here you have to try to go out there and socialise yourself.” (Daniel, Filipino, male)

The current experience of living in a MPE in Wyndham is different to the way participants reflect on their own background living in a neighbourhood in India or the Philippines. It is described to involve a lot more social interaction between neighbours who know each other personally. In contrast, as noted previously, participants express that the immediate neighbourhood generally does not have a lively atmosphere and social contacts only develop occasionally between residents.

“In India you just have a front yard. People generally sit in the front yard and in the evenings are having tea, coffee. Whoever is coming by, they drop by, have a coffee, just like that. Here you have to go to the backyard. Then all that will automatically ... mean more privacy.”
(Ankit, Indian, male)

One influential aspect is the way houses are structured, in which recreational spaces are located at the front. By making use of, for example, a veranda, balcony or front-yard, domestic life in India or the Philippines is more connected with the neighbourhood. As these parts of the home are not seen as exclusively private, they are in effect more accessible to neighbours and others. In contrast, privacy is perceived to be a more important feature of Australian society. With the backyard and the inside of the house being the primary place for socialising, informal, spontaneous meetings between neighbours are less likely to happen. This is exacerbated with the front of the house being used infrequently. To get in touch with neighbours therefore requires a purposeful step, such as knocking on someone's door. The interaction hence takes on more of an arranged form, in which neighbours need to be invited before being able to come over, which can be perceived to be intimidating.

“Here it is very formal; [...] it's all on the surface. There is no depth to it. But at home in India you can actually go to someone's house without even announcing it. That is a big difference. [...] From a community concept it's very formal, very regulated. They have a group for something and they'll focus on that activity. Whether they meet once a week, once a month it doesn't matter, they'll focus on that activity. They'll try to get more people into it. In India it's not very structured. Here everything has a structure. That's the big difference.”
(Guillermo, Indian, male)

The differences lie in the way neighbourhood functions can be related to the conceptualisation of community. In their reflection, participants associate community with informal everyday interactions, which are not regulated or structured in any way. Rather, these encounters are situated in the overlap between the private and parochial realms occurring in an unplanned, spontaneous form. In contrast, the way participants perceive community to be performed in Australian society is around a more formalised structure. As Guillermo highlights, this can encompass certain activities or social groups with a specific intention that meet at regular intervals. On the neighbourhood level, only a few participants can account for singular events, such as for Christmas or Australia Day, where socialising would take on this form. Hence, the parochial realm is experienced to be distinct to the private realm, with both not overlapping. As social interaction in the neighbourhood does mostly not perform in accordance with a structured conceptualisation of community, for many participants it takes on a less pronounced role.

“The Indian community is not used to [...] services provided by the government. Because we never had it back home. It is just organised by us.” (Raj, Indian, male)

In addition to the more formalised function of community, participants consider a difference in their individual role in shaping communities. As part of everyday life, community is engrained in the neighbourhood in India or the Philippines. Therefore, it consists of the people engaging in the immediate neighbourhood. Contrary to this, participants regard community in Wyndham to be facilitated by specific stakeholders, such as local councils. The quote of Raj highlights this difference by stating that community services are not necessarily provided in India. In the case of MPEs, developers provide social infrastructure and engage by getting residents locally involved in the

parochial realm. Also, the local council is active in fostering local social bonds, for example, as previously discussed, through their 'neighbourhood hubs' project through which community centres should not only function as a venue, but as a social facilitator reaching out to residents. Furthermore, participants themselves are active in setting up social groups associated with Filipino or Indian culture. In this regard, communities are created and emerging in the new social environment, which differs considerably to their reflection on previous experiences.

"The community becomes your family, because the longing off [...]. It is true in the academic discussion there is this symbolic, the imagined community. To some extent it has an important effect and it has applicability within the Filipino community. Because when you long for the country, when you miss the families back home, the Filipino community here becomes that extension. So, it is this imaginary, symbolic space that really connects you to the community or the people together in the community. It has significance." (Michael, Filipino, male)"

For participants, the household is formed differently in Australia. Considering their everyday life in India or the Philippines, this was characterised by many participants as living in extended families. Moving to Australia often means leaving these behind and living in Wyndham as a nuclear family. As discussed, this shifts the social role of the house. Even though in some cases other relatives subsequently move to Wyndham, like the parents in the case of some of the Indian participants, this shifts this social connection. As stated by Michael, the Filipino community takes over the function of the extended family. This may include cultural practices, everyday chores, but as well have symbolic meaning by representing their cultural background. As discussed in chapter 5.4.3, social networks for Filipinos are based on personal connections that in many cases encompass the extended family. For the activities of these, the private realm of the house is relevant. Contrary, for the Indian cohort, their involvement constitutes their experience of community and other members are not necessarily related or known beforehand. Social activities associated with Indian culture are highly visible in Wyndham and in many cases situated in the public realm.

Overall, the way participants reflect on grounded communities in India or the Philippines differs significantly to their lived experience in Wyndham. With the neighbourhood in their memory being the primary scale in which community is constituted, the findings relate to other studies emphasising the importance of family and the close connection of the house to the surroundings in Indian and Filipino society (Ortega 2012; Singh 2016). For the formation of community, the house is regarded as the key social unit that enables cultural practices and encompasses social relations (Aguilar 2009). As pointed out in the findings, this tight intersection of the house to the neighbourhood is weakened. This is similar to the experience of other migrant groups for whom the individual suburban life in Australia is unfamiliar and who are thus encountering alien social codes (Noble 2013b). These differences in social life between India and the Philippines influence the adaptation process of participants. This can be related to the culture-distance hypothesis that assumed that the greater the cultural gap for migrants, the more difficulties they encounter (Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2003). This varies between the Indian and Filipino cohort, as well as between individual participants, shaping their experience of settling in Australia. This settlement process is related to their place of residence as their sense of belonging is negotiated locally (Babacan & Babacan 2013). To achieve this local attachment, grounded communities can play an important role.

6.3 Acculturation Strategies

6.3.1 Diverging Individual Experiences

"I'm a little bit different in my preferences compared to a lot of Indians, you may have spoken to. I rather have a blend than sectioning people [...]. It is more Indian community [in Wyndham], so there is more focus on Indian activities in the area. I don't personally participate too much in that, because to me it feels like we are not assimilating. A lot of people I know they'll corner themselves to certain activities, individuals, groups only." (Manoj, Indian, male)

The way participants reflect on community in India or the Philippines differs from their current experience of living in a MPE in Wyndham. For some participants, this has meant adapting to a new social environment, whereas for others, already being accustomed to perceived 'Western' forms of socialising has not required drastic changes. The process of settling in Wyndham relates to different outcomes for individual participants. Participants differentiate their own process of settling in Wyndham to the experience of others, emphasising that this may vary between individual residents. Establishing a more in-depth relationship to the broader society can be seen as an essential element of this process. Although, as Manoj states, this may not be the case for everyone moving there as some residents decide to be mostly connected to social groups or others coming from the same cultural background.

"I guess, you just have to adapt. That's the way of life, that's it! Some people can, some people can't." (Guillermo, Indian, male)

In addition to diverging aspirations to connect to the broader society, the role of the individual is seen differently for the adaptation process. The excerpt of Guillermo shows his view on acculturation that the only possible outcome is to assimilate, with this obligation being externally imposed and not shaped by the individual. Hence, in Guillermo's perspective, for migrants, their choice is merely to accept this or not. Manoj highlights his own preference and decision to be more involved in non-Indian related activities or groups. These deviating perspectives show that acculturation strategies are not necessarily driven by informed decisions, but dependent on the individual willingness to influence these.

"Personally, for me it was not [difficult], because I have lived in Japan. The Japanese have a very close community and anybody else other than Japanese is a foreigner for them. So, I am aware about the do's and the don'ts of living in the Western society. So, it was not very awkward for me, I knew this is what it is like." (Shreya, Indian, female)

The varying responses to adapting to the environment can be related to diverse migration patterns. The migration trajectory of participants should not be simplified as a singular migration from India or the Philippines to Australia but, in several cases, they were living in other countries beforehand, such as Japan, Saudi Arabia, the UK or the US. Being exposed to 'Western' culture already is regarded as a beneficial element in regard to settling in Australia. As noted by Shreya, the social meanings and practices of community experienced in Wyndham are thus not surprising. However, for other participants, moving to Australia as their first place outside of their home country implied severe challenges.

“The church is not a solely Filipino church, it is a multicultural church. You learn to integrate into Australian society. We Filipinos, especially in the Western suburbs, don't have a problem of integration. Because we are more Westernised than anyone else by being under the American influence for a long time. [...] American sub-culture in the Philippines is really strong. So, we didn't have any problem integrating. Because we eat their food and dance to their music.” (Javier, Filipino, male)

Even for participants moving directly from India or the Philippines, ‘Western’ culture is not necessarily regarded as something completely unknown. They have been in touch with this through movies, books, or living in larger cities, such as Mumbai or Manila, that have a cosmopolitan atmosphere. In the perception of Javier, their exposure to American culture, which is seen as almost equivalent to the one in Australia, makes it easier for Filipinos compared to other migrant groups to integrate. An example therefore is the religious affiliation of Filipinos that enables them to maintain cultural practices that are shared by other residents in Australia as well. This differs to those of the Indian cohort that worship Hinduism or Sikhism that are less engrained in other groups.

“When we moved here as students, we adopted Australia as our home and we felt that we belonged here very soon. So, we try and do the same thing. If we see new migrants coming in and reaching out for information, we will do our best to help them out in whatever way we can.” (Sam, Indian, male)

The varying reasons for migration influenced the individual experience of settlement in Wyndham. As stated in chapter 4.1, most participants moved to Australia for study purposes, employment or family-related connections. For those, like Sam, who had spent a couple of years studying and living in the inner city of Melbourne, moving to Wyndham at a later stage made them aware of differences in socialising. In contrast, those participants who arrived in Australia recently described the initial settlement period as more challenging. Therefore, the stage of settlement has shaped individual experiences also, which shall be discussed in more detail in the following section. As the quote from Sam shows, in many cases social networks become important for supporting the adaptation process. Therefore, the mode of migration influences the way migrants can approach adaptation.

Hence, a range of factors explain the diverging experiences of participants with regard to their adaptation process. As outlined, these include individual preferences, previous experiences and the relation to social support networks. This adaptation process is in accordance with Babacan (2010) stating that the experience of migration has subjective components. It can be influenced by a variety of elements and diverse motivations that gets people engaged in their new environment and therefore migrant groups should not be viewed in an undifferentiated manner (Al-Ali & Koser 2002). The findings have emphasised that the attitude and past experiences of participants matters regarding their acculturation. This relates to Jacobs’ (2011) proclamation that the choice and agency of migrants are essential and that they are not merely reactive towards their new social environment. This section has argued that for participants their personal background, migration pathway and manner of settlement have shaped their adaptation. Between the Indian and Filipino cohort, this process differs considerably. Several of the participants from an Indian background moved to Wyndham after having lived in the inner city of Melbourne and gaining permanent residency, whereas many Filipino participants settled in Wyndham to be close to existing social networks. This formation of Filipino communities has been similarly recognised in other studies

(Zubiri et al. 2010). Also, the findings relate to the importance of the visa category influencing the settlement process (Beer & Morphet 2002). Overall, these diverging experiences of participants align with the assertion of Berry (1997), pointing out the role of the individual migrant regarding their acculturative strategies. For the following section, it is therefore important to note that experiences differ between individual participants and neither the Indian nor the Filipino cohort represents one cohesive group.

6.3.2 Acculturative Stress

Moving to Australia has exposed participants to another social environment in which community is associated with other social practices and values. Adapting to new forms of community, though, has not necessarily been an uncomplicated process and for some participants has imposed severe challenges. This relates to the notion of behavioural shifts evoking 'acculturative stress' (Berry 1992). In many cases, participants were affected particularly in the initial settlement phase, though non-acceptance of different backgrounds remains a constant experience.

"When I first came here to Australia in 1992, came here to Werribee, it was a shock. I wanted to go home, there was nobody. In the Philippines, there are people everywhere, you see people walking outside and kids playing. Then you can talk to them... But here, everybody is in their house. You don't see anyone. So, it's so a lonely life here when you first arrive, and so I said: 'I want to go home'." (Patricia, Filipina, female)

The neighbourhood in the Philippines or India, as previously discussed, is referred to as the primary source for community. However, less extensive social encounters are experienced in Wyndham and the neighbourhood takes on a different social role. This is described by Patricia and other participants as socially isolating and complicating the adaptation process. Without having any opportunity to meet neighbours, building up local social relationships and adjusting to the new society is perceived to be difficult.

"You have to get out of your own niche to reach out to people, to make your connection. Otherwise you will be all alone. But in India you have support with you and don't really have to reach out to neighbours. All the people know each other very well there." (Shreya, Indian, female)

Instead of being able to rely on the neighbourhood as an immediate social support network, relationships have to be purposefully established. However, to build these relies on finding out about social activities, facilities and programs and depends on understanding the social role of these. In the case of the cohort, language skills were not an issue with all participants being fluent in English, though this may be problematic for other migrant groups. Hence, these forms of grounded communities draw on pre-existing knowledge about their functioning and can require specific skills that are essential to be involved in social activity. Particularly for those participants having moved to Wyndham directly without any prior contacts, getting in touch with other residents has proved to be a long-term process. Specific to newly emerging places of MPEs is that infrastructure is only developing over time. In many cases, public transport is infrequent and getting to community

centres and other social facilities is only feasible via car. However, not all participants have access to their own car, which restricts their ability to make use of the existing social infrastructure. Thus, the way community is situated in the parochial realm in the case of MPEs is not necessarily inclusionary as it draws on essential knowledge, skills and assets.

“Being guarded in my conversations to people has restricted me in the amount of time I actually want to spend socialising with them. [...] I don't want to be seen as holding back someone. If they are in their driveway and rushing, I don't want to stop them for a seven or ten minute conversation. I am happy to say now 'hello' for 30 secs, maybe a minute and then let them go. My interactions have been very restricted that way. It wasn't like that back in India, because in India you just would go on and on and on. You've got to be accommodating.” (Rohan, Indian, male)

In some cases, behavioural shifts imply giving up features of socialising practised in the previous background. The excerpt from Rohan notes that he is restricting social interactions with neighbours to an amount that he sees as appropriate. Yet, the social relationship with neighbours is not as frequent and meaningful as he would like it to be. By accommodating to perceived customs of socialising, personal aspirations can be marginalised. In other cases, participants' unfamiliarity with codes of conduct associated with community has led them to neglect neighbourly interaction. Here, the acculturation can have alienating outcomes.

“Generally, you still feel that you are an outsider somehow. It could be the language, culture [...] from the migrants' perspective it is hard to integrate if you feel that you are not being welcomed. I have been here 22 years now. I could consider myself already integrated into Australian culture, but it is still hard. Australian community tries to pretend it is welcoming, but the reality is it is not.” (Michael, Filipino, male)

Challenges evolving out of acculturation are not limited to the initial settlement phase. Even though acculturative stress in many cases is diminishing as uncertainty in regard to the functioning of community is reduced, adaptation is a two-sided process (Berry 1997). In his statement, Michael describes despite living in Australia for a considerable time having the feeling of not being completely accepted. This experience influences his engagement in communities. While being involved in an advocacy group supporting the settlement process of Filipino migrants, he feels it is hard to integrate into other communities because of the feeling of not being welcomed. Other participants relate problems that, even though they do not relate directly to their involvement in communities, can impact the adaptation process severely. These include, for example, discrimination at the workplace based on gender and background, racism in everyday life, and intolerance of cultural practices that can cause significant acculturative stress.

These findings emphasise the ambiguous effects of community on the adaptation process. The notion of community, as deliberated on in chapter 2.3.3, can foster a sense of belonging leading to beneficial outcomes in the adaptation process, but also have oppressive and exclusionary consequences. Moving to a new social environment implies that previously held practices associated with community are not applicable anymore. Therefore, entering a society embedded with long-standing cultural norms and values is a stressful process (Kim 2001; Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2003). The differences to India or the Philippines, in particular regarding lack of neighbourhood interaction and inability to engage, relate to the notion of 'acculturative stress' (Berry 2006; van

Oudenhoven & Benet-Martinez 2015). In the initial phases, some participants have experienced feelings of marginalisation and alienation due to other forms of socialising. This accords with other studies emphasising the isolating life in suburbs endured by new migrant groups (Bilimoria & Ruchira 1988). Over time, participants have shifted their behaviours, diminishing the acculturative stress. Yet, the emergence of this depends not only on the situation, but also on the individuals' coping strategies and resources (Berry 1992). However, the findings have emphasised that adaptation is a two-fold process and integration is beyond the individual influence of participants. Discrimination and harassment remain regular occurrences in Australia (Hage 2000).

6.3.3 Adaptation as a Process

With settlement in a place not being a one-off event, adaptation should be seen as a long-term process. Participants relate to this period as getting accustomed to other forms of community. With most of them having lived in Australia for some time, they can reflect on this process.

"You assume a lot of things, because you are not sure of what to do. You are in a new country, so you don't want to offend anyone. Basically, you are looking to make friends. The older you get, you slowly change. Because you feel more comfortable, you know where the lines are and what might offend, what may not offend. Then you get adjusted to the customs, to the culture here."
(Rakesh, Indian, male)

Participants expressed this perceived discrepancy to India or the Philippines as affecting them particularly in the initial settlement phase. As behaviours and norms associated with community are unfamiliar, it alters patterns of socialising in various ways. In his reflection, Rakesh recollects that initially he did not feel comfortable getting in touch with neighbours and did not know what is considered appropriate in order to do this. Therefore, most of his social activities were home centred. This is related to the infrequency of seeing other residents and respecting others' privacy of domestic life, which is perceived to be an important feature of suburban life. These factors constrain building social relationships with neighbours, which was for many participants the primary source of community in their background. Rather, more formal arrangements are experienced that are associated with specific customs, such as reciprocating invitations. For some participants, being able to invite neighbours takes time to get accustomed to them in order not to offend anyone. Also, they have experienced neighbours turning down invitations or gifts, perceivably so that these do not need to be reciprocated.

"Over the years you don't feel that nostalgic. ... You just get used to it. It does not really bother me that much that I am not as frequently communicating with neighbours as it would be in India. You are busy with your work, cooking, managing the house and then you watch a couple of TV shows." (Deepak, Indian, male)

The daily routines of living in Wyndham shape the social involvement of participants and their aspirations towards community. As the excerpt from Deepak highlights, his everyday life does not involve any interaction with neighbours, nor does he seek any. Being busy with work, commuting into the inner city and wanting to spend the remaining time with the family diminishes possibilities of communal engagement. Likewise, several participants state that a key difference to India or the Philippines is that working hours and commutes are longer and hence less time is available for

socialising. So not only are neighbours seen less outside, but also participants themselves are seldom at home and rather want to make use of that time with their family. This structure of everyday life therefore favours more formalised forms of community. Participants respond to this differently in their adaptation process. As stated in chapter 5.2.1, some would prefer to have more local, informal social involvement and try to modify this aspiration to formalised ways of community whereas, for Deepak, this way of socialising has become part of his everyday life and he does not reflect on other forms. Hence, during the adaptation process, the relationship between previous experiences and aspirations shifts regarding the current involvement in communities.

"If you ask any Indian: 'How did you find your first house you bought?' The first thing they would say: 'I didn't like the way the house is structured'. But it is something you get used to."
(David, Indian, male)

These modified aspirations to community as part of the adaptation process can be exemplified by the role of the house. As argued in chapter 5.3.2, social interaction with neighbours is affected by the structure of houses providing privacy. In contrast, in India or the Philippines, the distinction between the private realm and parochial realm is more fluid. With housing structures constraining this social role of houses in Wyndham, building up relations with neighbours is impeded. In his quote, David discusses the initial desire for new residents to find houses that provide more opportunities to establish contact with neighbours by having, for example, larger front yards or verandas. As houses in MPEs typically are not structured this way, they restrict this aspiration. Some participants state that eventually the social role of the house takes on a different meaning for them by adapting to the environment. However, this is not necessarily the case, with other participants tweaking the layout of the house by making use of the front of the house and achieving informal encounters with neighbours without interfering with their privacy. In this sense, adaptation is a process in which participants balance their aspirations in regard to the environment.

These shifting aspirations and experiences in regard to community align with the premise of acculturation being a process that happens over time (Clyne & Jupp 2011). With participants stating that their previous main source of grounded community – the neighbourhood – fundamentally functions differently in the environment of MPEs, their social involvement changes to be situated in other realms. This is encompassed by the notion of 'behavioural shifts' by Berry (2006), which consist of learning new behaviours from the new culture and shedding features of the previous background. The findings here demonstrate this notion on the experience of community. The adaptation process involves learning more formalised forms of community, which is the frame of the perspective of 'learnt capacity'. Shedding is related to being less dependent on the immediate neighbourhood as a source of community. The findings have shown the unfamiliarity of participants in the initial settlement phase in regard to appropriate forms of interaction with neighbours. Over time, participants have chosen different pathways to engage with neighbours or build social relationships locally in other ways. This relates to one function of acculturation being the reduction of uncertainty (Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2003). This is achieved through shifting behaviours so that they are perceived to be appropriate, or disregarding others, which are seen to be non-fulfillable in the new social environment of the MPEs. Nevertheless, adaptation is not completed after the initial settlement, but remains a process affecting the migrant's life and future generations to a varying degree (Castles & Miller 2003).

6.4 Maintaining Cultural Practices

Besides adjusting to new forms of community, maintenance of social practices from the cultural background is an essential element of the adaptation process. Participants are involved in a range of activities and social groups associated with Indian or Filipino culture. As noted previously, the engagement differs between individual participants. Nevertheless, attachment to their background remains part of their lived experience to a varying degree.

"If Filipinos don't have any relatives, the first place we go to is the church or the Filipino shop. This is the way we can find friends. It's like the only way to connect to our roots is sometimes to go to the church. It's a good connecting bond actually." (Javier, Filipino, male)

"Cricket is one thing that is connecting and these community networks, like language groups. Every community has their own language groups, like Malayalaam has their own, Temil, Hindu, Gujarati, Punjabi, they all have their own cultural groups, network groups. That keeps them engaged." (Joe, Indian, male)

Particularly in the initial phase, attachment to Indian or Filipino networks is experienced by participants as essential to having any kind of social support. In the case of the Filipinos, as mentioned by Javier, churches are a first point of contact as these refer not only to religious practices, but enable social interaction also. As discussed in chapter 5.4.2, Indian groups in Wyndham are centred on festivities, religion, social activities and sport. An essential purpose of these social networks is to enable members to maintain cultural practices. These can encompass, as Joe highlights for the Malayalaam group, which is a region in India, language classes, playing cricket, praying and socialising.

"Not only to show our kids what the traditions and cultural beliefs are, but also it's a medicine for the soul that you are actually doing something on the day [festivities, like Diwali]. Otherwise it just comes and goes and you don't really realise. That's the key reason, showing kids." (Diya, Indian, female)

Even for participants who do not put much emphasis on being involved in Filipino or Indian networks themselves, this relationship is altered with having other family members living in the household. Particularly for those participants with children, maintaining cultural practices is seen as important in order to familiarise their children with their cultural background. As Diya notes, without the children learning about cultural festivities or other activities associated with Indian culture, this relationship gets lost. Therefore, participants see themselves as carriers of these cultural traditions and thus it is their responsibility to pass these down to their children. Similarly, for those participants having their parents stay with them, getting involved in Indian or Filipino groups is seen to be important to enable them to establish social relationships. Hence, the maintenance of cultural practices and values is not only dependent on individual aspirations, but situated in their family situation.

"You come here and you don't feel like having a really strong support. But still it's nice to have some people to talk to in your own language. So, we ended up having really good Indian friends here, but we didn't really need strong Indian community support." (Deepak, Indian, male)

With participants utilising diverging acculturation strategies, their relationship to maintaining social practices also differs. For Deepak, connecting with other residents from the same background does not have any special meaning as such, and he is not seeking these contacts for everyday life. In many other cases, cultural maintenance is more centred on special festivities and social practices that do not structure the entire day. Hence, sustaining a cultural background is not preventing engagement in the broader society. However, for other participants, these groups are an elemental part of their social life. In this regard, maintenance of cultural practices can have the tendency to lead to segregative outcomes. However, the cohort can mainly be described as integrated and the cultural background is more a supplementary resource for community engagement.

“With non-Indians [...] it will be more catching up somewhere and have a few drinks and dinner. But with Indian families we also [meet] in the house. The kids are more comfortable in the way they just get together. With the non-Indian families, the approach is different. They do like play dates, so they would come for two or three hours. Whereas the Indian families, when they come they can come for five hours, no problem.” (Ankit, Indian, male)

Maintenance is not only linked to specific cultural practices or values specifically tied to the Indian or Filipino background, but can contain ways of socialising and everyday behaviours. The quote from Ankit illustrates the differences in meeting with friends from an Indian background to the ones from another background. In the former case, the house becomes the more frequently used place to meet and it is more informally organised. This can be related to community forms in India or the Philippines that overlap into the private realm of the house and are more spontaneous and informal.

“Even if Indians get together, they try to retain their activities to inside the house. Because that is the norm here, like for example at Diwali, you saw the fireworks were located at one place. But if you are in India on Diwali day every household would have a firework display of their own. So, it's not that Indians here would start doing fireworks on the streets, which is something against the law. One has to follow the rules of the land and do it that way. You have to be considerate to everyone else.” (Shreya, Indian, female)

However, the extent of maintaining cultural practices is an integral component of the overall adaptation process. In order not to disturb the environment, activities are situated in the private realm instead of holding them in public places. The example of Diwali shows that this festivity is either held in a contained public park or performed at home. The argument brought forward by Shreya is that this has to be in accordance with the customs in the new environment. Therefore, sustaining the cultural background is linked to the specific roles of the social realms.

Maintaining previous cultural practices is one part of the process of acculturation to which Berry (2005) refers. This study has extended this approach by relating it to community as a sub-set of culture. The outcomes and strategies of adapting to (perceived) prevalent perspectives and manifestations of community vary between individual participants. These can be described within the four possibilities described by Berry (1992, 1997) in regard to migrants seeking to establish inter-ethnic contact and maintain or develop distinctiveness in society, although for participants, mostly integrative attitudes are dominant, in which they seek to establish a social relationship in the broader society as well as maintain certain aspects related to Filipino or Indian culture. This finding is not surprising as the cohort consists of residents who have chosen to settle in Australia and have managed to become a home-owner.

For participants, their house has become the main site to maintain their cultural practices within the households, as well as with others from the same background. This aligns with other research emphasising the prominent social role of the private realm to retain certain aspects of the migrants' culture and a sense of their personal identity (Al-Ali & Koser 2002; Tewari & Beynon 2017). Partly, cultural practices are modified to be accommodated in the house, instead of openly displayed in public spaces. As houses are structured to provide privacy, this enables cultural distinctiveness to be performed as associated activities are not publicly visible (Levin 2012; Lozanovska, Levin & Victoria-Gantala 2013). Therefore, the maintenance of cultural practices varies between the different social realms (Berry 1997). Hence, integration into the wider society and being connected to a cultural background are not contradictory and can consolidate each other.

Yet, for participants their cultural background is not necessarily relevant in their daily life and differs considerably between them. This findings opposes to some degree the statement of Bilimoria (1988), who generalises that cultural identity is a strong point in the make-up of the Indian immigrants. Rather, the cohort of this study is very diverse and maintaining cultural practices refers mostly to festivities on specific occasions. Nevertheless, the connection to social networks can be relevant, in particular, in the initial settlement phase. In this regard, building up social relationships based on the same cultural background can offer stability and be seen as an anchorage for migrants (Lakha, Stevenson & Dhanji 2015). Even though participants do not necessarily seek these connections for themselves, this may be sought after for other family members, particularly their children. This finding of participants seeing their role as custodians to pass on cultural traditions is similarly illustrated in other studies (Singh 2016). Thus, cultural maintenance is expressed in multiple facets and is not inevitably an imbricating feature of the lived experience.

6.5 Modification of Community Experiences

Drawing on Berry's (1992, 1997) conceptualisation of the various acculturation strategies and outcomes, this chapter has addressed the adaptation process of Indian and Filipino residents living in a MPE in Wyndham. By focusing on their lived experience in contrast to the conceptualisation of community in MPEs, the study contributes to new insights regarding a specifically planned environment. This chapter has argued that in their adaptation process participants have modified their social practices associated with community to be situated in the public, parochial and private social realms accordingly.

The insights of this chapter need to be viewed in their confinement to a cohort with specific characteristics living in a particular social environment. Participants in the study are mostly in a more advanced phase in the adaptation process and reflect on prior experiences. The focus has been on residents that are primarily first home-owners in a MPE and have, arguably, settled in Australia with middle-class aspirations. Their social demographic is similar to the average population in the newly emerging suburbs of Wyndham. A key finding is that these new suburbs are perceived to be more accommodating to cultural differences because their affinity to other residents creates a common ground to establish social ties. This builds upon the argument by Ward et al. (2003), who postulate

that social interaction is more likely to happen if people are similar to each other. Hence, the acculturation of participants is eased by this circumstance.

Nevertheless, grounded communities have a diverging connotation in the reflection of participants on their background in India or the Philippines in contrast to their current environment in Wyndham. The research builds on the framework of Lofland's (1989b) distinction between the different social realms to demonstrate that community can be situated within these in various forms. The insights of this chapter, thus, refer to the modification of participants' experiences of community by adapting to the environment of MPEs. An example, therefore, is their expectation of a closer intersection of the social role of the house to the parochial realm by incorporating the immediate neighbourhood more tightly. This finding diverges considerably to the conceptualisation of community by the developers of MPEs that situate it predominantly in the parochial realm. These formalised structures differ to the engrained experiences of participants in spontaneous encounters with neighbours. Adjusting to another form of community is therefore an integral part of their adaptation process.

However, participants are not necessarily involved locally in social groups or facilities located in the MPE. To approach residents from diverse backgrounds the developers of MPEs, hence, cannot merely rely on social infrastructure to create a socially inclusive environment, but require active engagement. Furthermore, participants are shifting their maintenance of cultural practices mostly to the private realm of the home. Even though this enables cultural distinctiveness, social interaction is withdrawn from the parochial realm in the estate. Hence, the home-centred life of participants is an outcome of their adaptation process precisely because the conceptualisation of community in MPEs differs to their lived experience.

In summary, acculturation is not only a process of adapting to other social meanings and practices associated with community, but also to diverging expressions of it. The findings emphasise that grounded communities can be situated differently in the social realms. The analysis has shown that acculturation of migrants relates to their modification of practices to align with the perceived function of the social realms in Wyndham.

7. COMMUNITY AS 'LEARNT CAPACITY'

7.1 Addressing 'Learnt Capacity'

This chapter addresses the third main research question: "In what ways do previous experiences influence the ability to engage in communities? What are the implications for policy and planning?" This builds upon the findings regarding the community experience of participants living in a MPE and their process of adapting to a new social environment. The chapter argues that social meanings and practices associated with community are acquired in a certain social environment. These enable people to act accordingly in a specific setting, as well as providing a skill to draw on. Moving to another environment, as highlighted in this thesis by the migratory background of the participants, confronts previously learnt behaviours, but also constitutes a specific resource to draw on. Based on these findings, the study postulates that this perspective on community can be conceptualised as a 'learnt capacity'.

The first part of this chapter refers to the learning process of participants regarding their engagement in communities. For participants, this is affected by their previous involvement in extended family relations and more frequent neighbourhood interaction in India or the Philippines. With these experiences differing to their current situation in Wyndham, the chapter argues that community is the learning of behaviours according to a certain social environment. Coming from another cultural background has enabled participants to perceive community from multiple perspectives. Being able to reflect on previous experiences as well as their current daily life in Wyndham enhances their awareness of the conceptualisation of community in MPEs. Settling in a new social environment requires them to form their own social networks and re-evaluate their social practices and meanings associated with community. Not only do participants adjust to their new place of residency, but they are actively involved in shaping the environment. However, the structures of the built and social environment of MPEs enable certain forms of community and restrict others. Therefore, this chapter argues that their engagement in communities can be regarded as a capacity.

This advocated perspective of community as 'learnt capacity' draws upon earlier conceptualisations that view community as learning to be social (Cohen 1985). The experience of participants therefore is not restricted to one cohesive form of community, but they are engaged in multiple intersecting communities. Yet, the development of grounded communities stands in connection to the environment and the abilities of its members. This new insight explains the relationship between processes of settlement, adaptation to a new environment, and conceptualisations of grounded communities. Distinguishing the lived experience of residents from the manifested and envisioned community in MPEs serves as a reference point for the study. As a planned environment, this simplification of community competes with the more complex lived experiences of its residents.

7.2 Community as Learning Process

7.2.1 Previous Experiences as Socially Enabling

The component of 'learning' refers to the process of developing social meanings and practices regarding enabling engagement in communities that are expressed in grounded forms in the private, parochial and public realms. Building upon the findings of the previous chapter showing that participants reflect on their experience of community in India or the Philippines as being mostly contained in the neighbourhood, participants have learnt distinctive social meanings and practices associated with community.

"Community in India means being connected to families and friends, there is a lot of emphasis on that. People try to connect first with their own relatives. [...] The other thing is that you can find people, if they are Christians, with the local church. So that's where there is another bonding happening in the community. The third one is connecting with the neighbours as well." (Sanjiv, Indian, male)

In their reflection on their background in the Philippines or India, participants describe community as part of everyday life. The quote from Sanjiv highlights that community stands for connection to the extended family, neighbours and cultural practices, which in his case means the church. Instead of being an abstract attachment or based on infrequent social activities, community is a meaningful lived experience in terms of bonding to others. With everyday life being less individualistic, engaging and cohabitating with others becomes a necessity. Hence, these extensive previous exposures to communal living can be conceptualised as an ability to handle multiple forms of community.

"In India a lot of people know each other, not just from the same street, but the neighbouring streets as well. This way, the Indian culture is quite active actually, because of diversity. They have festivals the year around. So sometimes we go and celebrate one culture's festival, they come and celebrate our culture. It is very diverse. We have got these festivals all around the year. So, you get to know a lot of people." (Raj, Indian, male)

Participants refer to their life in neighbourhoods in India or the Philippines as an experience of extensive local social interaction. These encounters not only encompass family members and close neighbours, but people from a range of backgrounds. As the excerpt from Raj accentuates, Indian society is characterised by a diversity of cultures, religions and other social situations. This diversity is situated in the neighbourhood, which performs as the place to accommodate and bridge cultural differences. Therefore, encountering people from different backgrounds and experiencing other cultural practices is a common feature of everyday life. For participants, this knowledge and involvement is seen to enable their social interaction with diverse neighbours.

"Neighbourhood in the Philippines is more like you are a family, even though you are not related to each other. But through thick and thin, you're like a family. [...] They are quite tough in dealing with crises in life. Like in the morning you wake up at 4 o'clock you can hear your neighbours cooking and then you can see each other: 'Oh hello, how are you, are you ok? What are you cooking?' [...] There you can start your day quite positive." (Marie, Filipina, female)

A central element of the interactive neighbourhood is living within a larger household consisting of multiple generations, as well as other members. Domestic life, hence, is rather communal with more interaction happening. Having less privacy is not necessarily a choice, but rather the consequence of this larger household structure. Additionally, the social role of the house, as argued previously, is situated between the private and parochial realms. For participants, domestic life is, thus, not necessarily a retreat into privacy with engagement with only household members or invited guests. Instead, it is common for neighbours to walk in and domestic life is described as interactive. The background of living in India and the Philippines has meant for participants that they are exposed to more frequent social interaction with a range of people. Everyday life inherently implies engaging with other household members, neighbours and others inhabiting the local place. Having this communal background is regarded by participants to enable them to get socially engaged in their new social environment.

Discussing these previous experiences has shown that the social meanings and practices associated with community are not only confined to being memories from their life in India or the Philippines, but create an ability to establish local social relationships and be involved in grounded communities. This argument builds upon Cohen's (1985) notion of community as learning to be social. This learning process is embedded in social interactions between different members as a transaction of meaning. For participants, the neighbourhood and household in the intersection between the parochial and private realms are the main reference points for engaging in communities. With India and the Philippines being pluralistic societies, people are exposed to a range of different backgrounds (Bilimoria & Ruchira 1988). Relating to these, participants have learnt to navigate in culturally diverse settings. This understanding has, as shall be analysed in the following part, enabled participants to engage in MPEs, which are characterised by residents from many different origins. In the context of MPEs, other studies have demonstrated that positive experiences of grounded communities can have an influence on residents' aspirations and involvement in communities (Nicholls, Maller & Phelan 2017).

7.2.2 Multiple Perspectives as Empowering

Participants have the possibility to reflect on multiple forms of community in contrast to those residents of MPEs that have mostly lived in the same kind of suburban setting. Being able to draw on their background in India or the Philippines, in addition to other places of residency, as well as their current lived experience in a MPE in Wyndham, enables them to distinguish or, at least, be aware of different conceptualisations of community.

"In some respects, it could be an asset to have this modern understanding, Westernised, and in some respect have the real Filipino culture of values, family, respect of authority; have this sense of belonging, community, inter-personal relationships. Being flexible in that way you have this different perspective and experience of what life is all about." (Michael, Filipino, male)

In this sense, participants can approach community from multiple perspectives. Living in a MPE and encountering everyday social life gives them an understanding of suburban life in Wyndham. At the

same time, being accustomed to other forms of grounded communities allows them to look at local happenings and social interaction from another standpoint. Instead of regarding community to be prescribed through fixed social meanings and practices, other conceptualisations are perceived. In particular, those aspects that differ to previous experience, like the intensity of neighbourhood interaction, accentuate differences. In his quote, Michael refers to these manifold experiences as an asset endowing him to be more flexible and appreciative.

“Where I am staying, they all are from different [backgrounds]: Africa, China and a few Australians. I get along well with all these people. What we do is once a year we all gather in one place and have dinner together. So that keeps us all as neighbours closely knit. Opposite to our house they are from Eritrea, and my neighbour on the right-hand side is from China, and the opposite neighbour is Australian.” (Joe, Indian, male)

A characteristic of MPEs in Wyndham is the considerable population from diverse backgrounds living there. Similar to the experience of Joe, many participants have neighbours from many different countries of origin. Even though social interactions between neighbours are not necessarily frequent, having the experience of adjusting to another country and being accustomed to more lively neighbours can be connecting. Prior to the quoted excerpt, Joe refers to the cultural diversity in India as a normal part of life. This experience has made approaching people from diverse backgrounds rather effortless for him. Hence, participants are able to relate to more communal as well as individualistic lifestyles, allowing them to engage with the diverse aspirations of community that are situated in neighbourhoods.

“Because I am a very social person, so I like to share and hear other people's experiences. There are times you can have such lovely experiences with them or hear some lovely suggestions or ideas. It's sometimes literally enlightening to be honest. ... Certain communities would come up with an idea or outside the box thinking that, probably the way you were brought up, you just can't see. It is actually very good.” (Diya, Indian, female)

For some participants, having this awareness of distinctive forms of community can also be regarded as empowering. Being able to draw on multiple perspectives enables them to engage in diverse ways of local socialising. As Diya notes, this has permitted her to interact with residents from other cultural backgrounds and learn from them. Having this ability can enhance the acceptance of differences. This is particularly relevant for places that have a culturally diverse population, like MPEs.

“There are a lot of events happening [in Wyndham]. Events are also starting to get more and more ethnically diverse. So, it is an opportunity to enjoy different types of events with different ethnic communities. [...] That is the eventual progression that starts to happen, that people start to participate in the community, in civic planning and other civic activities through the council. More and more are seen turning up for council.” (Sam, Indian, male)

Since the initial settlement phase, the connection of participants to their social environment has been evolving. The social engagement is not only happening on the individual level, but residents from diverse backgrounds are contributing to the development of Wyndham with their various perspectives. As mentioned in the chapter on acculturation, this is a process of residents building up their relationship to the wider society by getting accustomed to perceived norms and forms of

behaviour. Subsequently, drawing on previous experiences of grounded communities is seen as a reason to get locally engaged.

“What we found here is that people do not take that step forward to meet each other. Unless probably some of them are of a different mind-set. So, we found that our neighbour, he's been in the US, [...] has taken that extra effort to meet us, greet us. We've got on the other side another neighbour we hardly see them coming out, so they are mostly confined in the house. [...] We did find that we could hardly find people out, trying to come out to meet. So, it is a challenge.” (Sanjiv, Indian, male)

Although participants have the opportunity to refer to multiple perspectives, this experience should not be romanticised. Moving to a neighbourhood that lacks social interaction can be isolating and participants have expressed their initial disappointment. As the quote from Sanjiv highlights, not all residents have the same aspirations or are seeking to be engaged locally. Hence, relating the current lived experience in Wyndham to the knowledge of diverse forms of community can be disenfranchising as well as empowering for new residents.

This notion of migrants being able to refer to multiple forms of community aligns with the argument of Colic-Peisker (2011) that being caught between cultures is in some cases beneficial to deal with culturally diverse settings. Even though the initial settlement, in particular, can be confining, for some participants, applying their previous experiences of community to the new social environment can be part of their adaptation process. This developing awareness of having these multiple perspectives and thus being different can be regarded to be intriguing (Noble 2013a). In this context, MPEs could draw on the various perceptions of migrants on community and their diverse backgrounds. The previous findings have shown that participants not only have an understanding of intensive interaction in neighbourhoods, but their ability to reflect on different implementations of community enables them to get in touch with residents from diverse backgrounds. This is in accordance with Nicholls et al.'s (2017) assessment that community-building in MPEs could profit from the experience of stronger grounded communities and enhance the mutual understandings and interests between residents, particularly since it has been argued that Australian society is lacking a cultural resource regarding grounded communities (Pusey 2003).

In this context, the conceptualisation of previous experiences of community as a learning of social meanings and practices provides new insights. Participants have acquired various skills to interact in lively neighbourhoods that are characterised by diverse cultures. In particular, they have learnt to engage in communities that are situated in the intersection between the parochial and private realms. Being able to draw on multiple perspectives enables them to perceive community not only as a feature of social life, but as a constructed social phenomenon, although referring to community as dependent on the context implies that the social meanings and practices associated with it are learnt in a specific environment. Hence, this perspective on community entails a second component.

7.3 Community as Capacity

7.3.1 Participation in the Social Environment

'Capacity' as the second component refers to the potential ability to utilise acquired social practices and meanings that are associated with grounded communities. Drawing on the learning process, it enables people to participate in their social environments. However, by moving to a new place they are confronted with another form of community that is not necessarily congruent with previously held social meanings and practices. This different conceptualisation can be discordant to the capacity of new residents, constraining their ability to engage in their new social environment. By learning new ways of socialising, people can broaden their capacity. Yet, being able to refer to other forms of community enables them to contribute to shaping their new social environment in specific ways.

"I haven't had that issue approaching people. [...] Yeah, it helps to approach the neighbours, because you are used to that from India." (Emmy, Indian, female)

Even though not all social meanings and practices associated with community in the Philippines or India are applicable in the new social environment, these previous experiences of participants are not completely obsolete. Rather, these can form an ability to act in diverse social settings and enable participants to be engaged in grounded communities. This background can, for example, be adopted for more informal, spontaneous interaction with neighbours. This is emphasised by Emmy describing her upbringing in a socially lively environment as making it easier for her to approach neighbours. Thus, coming from another background means that participants have the potential ability to perform distinctively in their new social environment.

"The problem is that this is how we would like to build the house, but then what happens, the builders and the council they all have a vision. You blend into that vision. So, when you blend into that vision, your personal preferences and whatever you like is just discouraged: just follow what they say." (Raj, Indian, male)

The ability of participants to engage locally can be undermined by the new social environment. As argued in chapter 2.2.2, the narrative of community in MPEs is manifested in the built environment enabling or constraining certain practices. The quote from Raj illustrates that personal preferences have to align with building regulations and visions of the developers. These can be manifested in design guidelines restricting the size of the front yard, requiring a tidy appearance and fencing the property. Instead of being able to build a house that is more integrated in the public sphere, privacy concerns restrict achieving this expectation. Besides housing structures, interaction between neighbours is limited by the setting of these developments in outer suburban areas and the everyday life of residents; this is in many cases influenced by lengthy commuting times. Even if residents have other social aspirations, they may not be able to realise them in their local social interactions.

"What we've realised is that we need to reach out to the community to know people. So, we not only interact with the Indian community, but we also try to interact with the other communities. [...] So, I realised that the more effort we've put in, definitely it would have success." (Sanjiv, Indian, male)

Having moved to Wyndham recently, participants emphasise their own role in establishing their social network. As they have observed that community is mostly situated in the parochial realm based on voluntary involvement, they are modifying their previously acquired practices. Instead of relying on the neighbourhood for socialising, participants apply more purposeful approaches. In the case of Sanjiv, this is centred on his involvement in a church and reaching out to people during encounters, for example, in public parks. Hence, in their acculturation, participants are altering practices by learning new ones. However, this requires the willingness to modify their approach towards community.

“A lot of these people are immigrants. These are people who have vast experience in doing a lot of things and have so many transferable skills that they are bringing in to a new community. So, it is good that they are being recognised, the Wyndham Council are empowering more to participate.” (Sarah, Filipina, female)

The modification of learnt social practices regarding community can be a challenging process and is not always attainable on an individual basis. This is where social networks facilitating the adaptation process come into play. Wyndham Council is active in reaching out to residents in different ways, by projects like the ‘Neighbourhood Hubs’ or consultation dinners. These aim not only to include residents from diverse backgrounds, but to enable them to get involved as active citizens. Some participants refer to these activities by the council as supportive in facilitating events or setting up social groups. Yet, this is not a confined engagement, but an on-going process of getting new residents involved in the social environment.

The findings have shown that community can be experienced differently in places and is specifically conceptualised in MPEs, influencing the way participants are able to engage. This aligns with the notion that places are not neutral, but biased towards certain norms, values and behaviours (Babacan & Babacan 2013). In the case of MPEs, this is expressed in the built environment and through the social infrastructure provided within the development. The experience relates to the assessment that some forms of social interaction are facilitated whereas others are impeded as the development of MPEs mainly addresses the needs of only certain social groups (Williams & Pocock 2010). In some cases, restrictive social covenants and design guidelines are a key feature for the promotion of a MPE (Gwther 2005). Hence, these create a distinctive social environment that curbs the ability of residents to realise their aspirations towards community.

These limitations to the capacity of participants relate to the notion of Berry (1997) that acculturation is a two-sided process that is dependent on the structures of the new environment. However, this process is not necessarily restrictive, but relates to the modification of non-attainable social practices. Therefore, capacity refers not only to the ability to perform distinctively in the social environment, but to learn new forms of community as well.

7.3.2 Shaping the Environment of Masterplanned Estates

Drawing on previous experiences, participants are active in shaping the social environment in Wyndham. As emerging places, no pre-established community has developed in the MPEs, enabling new residents from diverse backgrounds to be an integral part of this process. Besides that, participants are transferring their learnt practices of community, shaping the environment in a livelier fashion.

“For a community to grow, this is one of the best places, because it is a fast-moving society, fast-developing suburb. Unlike Dandenong or any other place already established, this is the new suburb, brand new suburb. Whatever you want, you can do it here. Because there is nothing like traditions in this new suburb, because it is a brand new one, which is very good.”
(Joe, Indian, male)

Participants are experiencing that living in the newly emerging suburbs of Wyndham enables them to be part of the development process. As discussed in chapter 5.2.3, this is based on MPEs having a more culturally diverse population than other parts of Wyndham, as well as new residents not encountering a pre-established community. Besides these aspects, Joe is referring to the suburb of Dandenong in which residents from an Indian background have been settling for a longer time. Recent migrants of Indian origin are more able to determine their own adaptation process in Wyndham, instead of being bound to a more established Indian community that is described as rather contained within itself. Hence, this feature of the MPEs of being a developing place has enhancing effects on the capacity of residents to fulfil their aspirations in regard to grounded communities.

“The good thing with minorities, like us Filipino, is that once you know one person, then they’ll introduce you to their friends and then you get to know their friends and their friends. [...] That’s the start and then another friend of your friend will say ‘Oh, actually the African group has something on, do you want to come with me?’” (Patricia, Filipina, female)

A range of social groups associated with Filipino and Indian culture have been established in Wyndham. As argued in chapter 5.4.6, these can provide participants with an additional resource to draw on locally. These communities are locally embedded and, in some cases, have social events in the public realm, like the festivities for Diwali. For participants, being connected to social networks from an Indian or Filipino background can be particularly important in the initial settlement phase. As these in many cases have a special focus on integrating new residents, reaching out to people moving to Wyndham is often a characteristic. Besides being attached to Wyndham, these can function as a first step to build social relations to other groups as well, as Patricia points out.

“Point Cook has got that right mix: it has a lot of Indians, who will still not fully behave in the Western way of life, which is totally individualistic. Will still try to be cohabital, but at the same time with some reservation that they will not interfere too much. They are slightly balanced in being individualistic and at the same time interactive.” (Rohan, Indian, male)

The diversity of the population in these new suburbs of Wyndham enables participants to maintain cultural practices without living in segregated cultural enclaves. Rohan points out that, through the mix of population, residents from an Indian background are not interfering too much, but are able to

bring in their experience of more interactive neighbourhoods. From this perspective, they have an influence on other residents by establishing social groups and putting the local at the forefront. Hence, as everybody is new and many residents are from diverse cultural backgrounds, they have the capacity to contribute to the social environment evolving from multiple perspectives.

"I didn't think it would be that way and I didn't plan it that way. The street conversations that used to happen in India are happening a tiny bit in front of my house and I'm happy. At least a tiny bit is happening as opposed to not happening at all. If every house on my street had a veranda and everybody sat there, my street would be a lot more social. That needs to be incorporated in the design concept that people need to spend more time in front of the house as opposed to always either sitting inside of the house or locking themselves in the backyard." (Rohan, Indian, male)

A specific way in which the social environment is modified is in the intersection of the private and public realms. Despite maintaining the privacy of other residents, participants are fulfilling their aspiration of creating a more interactive neighbourhood. One example is that of Rohan, who by building a house with a veranda and making use of this space in front of the house facilitates informal encounters with neighbours. By doing this, he draws on previous experiences of extensive neighbourhood interaction. Designing his house fitting to these desired practices gives him the ability to achieve these. These modifications shaping the social environment are, however, not necessarily consciously driven, as these changes can have unplanned outcomes.

This section has shown that participants are active in shaping the social environment. Acculturation is not necessarily only a process of migrants adjusting to their environment, but they are active facilitators in shaping it. The research emphasises that participants are active in forming social groups and are involved in the emergence of social life in Wyndham. This finding aligns with the notion that migrants reconstitute places (Castles, Hugo & Vasta 2013; Sandercock 2003). This contributes to new empirical knowledge to a perspective on migration that conceptualises the settlement of migrants not only as a reactive process (Jacobs 2011). A distinctive feature of the study is that it is based in an emerging place. Rather than settling in and adapting to a pre-established community, the relationship is two-fold, with the environment being shaped through the new residents moving there and these modifying their practices accordingly. For culturally diverse places like the MPEs in Wyndham, residents from various backgrounds encounter each other, maintain specific cultural practices as well as create a common shared environment. This is what Amin (2002) postulates as striking a balance between cultural autonomy and social solidarity. Drawing on the concept of conviviality, which as a process of cohabitation and interaction have made cultural plurality an ordinary feature of social life, residents from diverse backgrounds are shaping their environment (Noble 2013a).

Overall, the capacity component of this new perspective on community argues that peoples' ability to perform in communities refers to their learning of appropriate social meanings and practices. These differ between diverse conceptualisations of community. Drawing on previous experiences may enable people to contribute other ways of socialising in a new environment. However, the capacity to engage in other forms can be undermined as new social practices and meanings need to be acquired to be part of these.

7.4 Concept of 'Learnt Capacity'

This outlined concept of 'learnt capacity' proposes a novel perspective on community to analyse the modification of social practices and meanings to a new environment. This draws on the findings showing that participants adjust their aspirations towards grounded communities to the social role of the public, parochial and private realms in Wyndham. This contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between previous experiences and current involvement in communities.

The empirical evidence on MPEs suggests that instead of trying to create an all-encompassing form of community, these can draw on the diverse capabilities of residents. In particular, those residents that have experienced multiple forms of community can enhance their social environment through their distinctive acquired social practices. Viewing the different backgrounds of residents not as a problematic issue to be integrated into unified forms, but as an empowering ability can contribute to a more socially interactive environment. This builds upon the notion of Bauman (2011) that community based on similarity is a de-learning of cohabitation, because differences are not negotiated. Particularly for suburban areas, described by Bilimoria (1988) as being socially isolating for new migrants, drawing on residents' previous experience of more interactive environments and enabling them to make use of their capacity can enhance the integration of diverse needs. 'Learnt capacity' refers to the conceptualisation of community expressed in different realms. By applying Loflands' (1989b) distinction of the various social realms to the concept of community, the research has identified diverging lived experiences to each of these realms. The 'learning' component frames community as an acquired practice shaped by their background in a certain social environment. This can give people the ability to socially interact in specific ways, establishing a 'capacity' on which people can draw. By referring to multiple perspectives on community, it can have enabling effects, such as the ability to approach neighbours and enhance the local engagement. However, if this 'learnt capacity' is not congruent with the social environment, the ability to interact is constrained. By referring to this imbalance, community can be viewed as a reconstituting process that is shaped by its members, as well as these adjusting to associated social practices and meanings. Building upon Cohen's (1985) argument that community is 'learning to be social', the chapter has emphasised that engagement in communities in itself is learnt. Varying conceptualisations of community in different social environments require an acquired understanding of appropriate meanings and practices. So, it is not only learning these but as well the capacity to express and manage social relationships. Even though this perspective draws on MPEs and their projections of grounded communities, the concept of 'learnt capacity' can also be applied to other forms of community that may not have a place-specific focus. Community as an expression of culture is always context-specific and configured. As a social phenomenon, it is created, formed and lived. To be part of any community involves acquiring the social meanings and practices that constitute it. This forms a capacity to engage in these. Communities are thus inherently embodied by their members and can only evolve by these constantly forming them. Imposing social meanings and practices without drawing on the capacity of their members, however, lets communities become simplistic and meaningless. This chapter therefore concludes that communities can gain more significance if they are constituted by encouraging differences and fostering diverging capacities and thus can develop to incorporate shifting social realities.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Reflection on the Study

This thesis has conceptualised community as a 'learnt capacity' to apprehend diverse forms of grounded communities and to explain the transition phase of migrants to a new social environment. Based on a case study, the thesis provides new insights into the lived experience and aspirations of migrants living in a MPE regarding their local built environment, home-ownership and local social involvement. In the context of MPEs in Australia, the thesis has identified that a better comprehension of the lived experience of residents from a migratory backgrounds is needed and that this constitutes a significant gap in knowledge. This chapter summarises the main findings of the thesis and details the contribution to knowledge. It also presents implications for policy and practice.

The focus of the thesis on the lived experience of residents from culturally diverse backgrounds questions the narrative of creating community as promoted by the developers of MPEs. These residential estates have been criticised as constructed around simplistic notions of community, (Cheshire, Wickes & White 2013; Gleeson 2004). The critique is based on the analysis that these narratives are not necessarily congruent with the everyday social life of their residents, particularly for those coming from other cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, local social engagement in grounded communities can be beneficial for health and well-being, as well as create a sense of belonging (Kennedy & Roudometof 2002; Plas & Lewis 1996). However, simplistic notions of community constructed around sameness may inhibit community taking on a meaningful form (Bauman 2001; Delanty 2010; Healey 1997). By discouraging diversity, it may become an oppressive and restrictive concept. The thesis therefore has argued that this homogenising form is problematic as it does not consider that community may take on diverse social meanings and hence impede diverging practices.

The research design was informed by methods drawing on a focused ethnographic approach to understand the lived experience of participants and their reflections on community. Residents from an Indian or Filipino background were selected as two major recent migrant groups that settle mostly in Melbourne's outer suburbs. The focus of the study was on people living in Wyndham Gardens Estate (WGE) and other MPEs located in Wyndham, as this represents one of the fastest growing local government areas in Australia. An interview-based case-study approach was applied to develop an in-depth understanding of participants' acculturation to a new social environment. The demographic profile of the cohort consisted mostly of first home-owners with younger children having migrated to Australia within the last ten years. Their main reason for moving to a MPE was to purchase a larger house based on estimations of housing affordability and commuting time to their workplace. Findings were developed from the analysis of qualitative interviews with Filipino and Indian residents, various community leaders, and observations of local social events and everyday life in these estates.

The aim of the thesis was to explore how the lived experiences of community are shaped in specific social environments that could constitute a 'learnt capacity'. To address this, the thesis was framed around three research questions introduced in Chapter 1, with each addressed respectively in chapters 5, 6 and 7:

- 1) How do migrants from a Filipino or Indian background living in Masterplanned Estates experience community? – Chapter 5
- 2) Through which processes of adaptation have migrants modified their aspirations to community? – Chapter 6
- 3) In what ways do previous experiences influence the ability to engage in communities? What are the implications for policy and planning? – Chapter 7

Chapter 5 explored the local involvement and perception of community by residents living in MPEs. The study situated the lived experience of migrants by distinguishing between different social realms. Within this framework, the social environment of the MPE constitutes the parochial realm that is characterised by weak ties and acquaintanceship between residents. More personal networks are situated in the private realm of the house that can intersect with the neighbourhood. Social activities, in which others tend to be unknown, were framed by the study in the public realm. Findings showed that local communities are not necessarily bound physically by the MPE, but rather situated in social groups associated with Indian or Filipino culture and centred on the home. Even though the social facilities incorporated in MPEs for some participants are a main site for their local social interaction and create a sense of belonging for them, these estates do not create an overarching cohesive form of community. Rather, participants experience community in multiple forms that intersect the different social realms. Nevertheless, as emerging places without a pre-established community, MPEs create a distinctive context for migrants to be involved in shaping the social environment.

Chapter 6 focussed on acculturation processes in addressing the second research question, and building on the work of Berry (1992, 1997). Reflecting on their local social life in India or the Philippines, participants articulated significant differences to their current lived experience in the MPE. Local community there was associated rather with the immediate neighbourhood, which is characterised through frequent social interaction in spontaneous, informal ways. In contrast, in Wyndham, houses and the immediate neighbourhood are perceived to be confined to providing privacy. Their acculturation to this new social environment has led participants to modify their practices with strategies and outcomes varying between them. Findings have shown that the relation between the social realms and the experience of community shifted over time by adjusting the social role of the house, differentiating social interaction with neighbours, and incorporating more formalised ways of socialising. Yet, findings emphasised that cultural practices aligned with community are maintained in a variety of facets. Living in a culturally diverse place enables participants to be part of the evolving social environment, as well as incorporating social practices and meanings associated with community from their cultural background.

Chapter 7 builds upon the findings of earlier chapters in regard to experience of community and adaptation processes to a new social environment, to formulate a new perspective to conceptualise community as a 'learnt capacity'. By referring to community as 'learning to be social' (Cohen 1985) the thesis contributes to the on-going academic discussion on the role of community. The findings have demonstrated that in their previous social environments, participants have acquired certain social meanings and practices associated with community, which are mainly expressed in the intersection between the parochial and private realms. Community is experienced as an inherent part of daily life engrained in the neighbourhood. Therefore, the thesis has argued that participants have 'learnt' a specific understanding and involvement in communities. By moving to a new social environment, their background is not necessarily congruent with the experienced life in a MPE. As these promote and manifest a certain conceptualisation of community, they impede other forms of socialising. For participants, this has constricted their ability to engage locally. However, findings have also shown that drawing on multiple perspectives and the experiences of extensive local interaction enabled participants to be engaged differently locally. Drawing on these findings, the thesis has devised community as 'learnt capacity'.

8.2 Contribution to Knowledge

The findings of the thesis need to be considered in the light of the limitations of the applied methodology. As considered in chapter 4, participants represent a specific cohort based on their origin from India or the Philippines and living in Wyndham mostly as an owner-occupier in a MPE. The participants can be characterised as migrants who have decided to settle in Australia and are able to afford their own home. The recruitment resulted, as discussed in chapter 3.4, in the study having a gender imbalance with more men participating than women. Focusing specifically on the role of gender for adaptation processes for the settlement of migrants is a gap that could be addressed in a follow-up study. Not addressing further intersecting factors, like age or gender, is a limitation of the study and should be acknowledged. Even though the study distinguishes between the Filipino and Indian cohorts, neither represents one homogeneous group and individual affiliation with their cultural background varies significantly. Based on narrative interviews, the experience of community has drawn on the reflection of participants. In particular, their reference to community in India or the Philippines is reliant on memory. To address these issues, the research design included a number of strategies: 1.) gathering data until saturation was achieved; 2.) applying a mix of recruitment strategies, the study has included residents that are not particularly active in any local groups; 3.) the data gathered from the interviews was triangulated with other methods, such as extensive observations and immersion in the study site.

The contribution of this thesis lies in conceptualising the diverse social meanings and practices of community experienced by migrants transitioning to a new social environment as a 'learnt capacity'. The particularity of this contribution is in applying the fields of community and migration studies to a specific form of urban development. Following are the five main contributions to knowledge that have been developed from the findings:

a.) MPEs are specific social environments

MPEs are configured in specific ways as they are developed around notions of creating a locally based community and featuring social infrastructure. Drawing on the case study of WGE and other estates located in Wyndham, the thesis has presented empirical evidence on the development of specific social environments. Findings have shown that even though these residential housing estates constitute a specific social environment, the narrative of developers to create a locally based community situated in the MPE is not necessarily congruent with the lived experience of its residents. Instead of any meaningful engagement involving their own responsibilities in the development of the social environment, participants are seeking a 'sense of community' that is provided for them. Nevertheless, the social facilities located in the MPE offer a possibility for residents to engage with each other. For some participants, social groups and activities located in the estate are an important part of their everyday life. In particular, schools and kindergartens are significant aspects for those participants with children – not only for educational purposes, but to get in touch with other residents also. However, these facilities cater for specific life-stages and thus are not necessarily suited for the aspirations of all residents. By mostly providing infrastructure for the needs of residents in specific life-stages, for example, families with younger children, MPEs are not planned for people with different expectations.

Supporting the arguments of related studies, this thesis has revealed new insights about how community is formed in MPEs. First of all, WGE has officially been recognised as its own suburb named after the MPE. The study has reported on participants claiming to be inherently involved in this process of creating a new suburb by separating it from the more established area. For them, the estate's name is equivalent to their place of residency and not the previous broader suburb. This finding has highlighted the potential of MPEs to turn into a distinguishable geographical entity providing residents with a source of identity and sense of belonging. Secondly, the research found that social media pages are an important medium for sharing local information, arranging social events and establishing a sense of belonging. WGE and other estates have a dedicated social media page, in contrast to more established parts of Wyndham. Based on the outreach of these groups, to which a significant proportion of residents has subscribed, these are influential regarding the social engagement of residents locally and make MPEs distinctive to other areas. Even though the study did not incorporate a systematic content analysis of posted topics, which could be a possibility for future enquiries, the observations of the social media page showed that this is a significant feature connecting residents to their estate. A third contribution regards the role of local social facilities, which can facilitate the social development of the MPE. The exchange with local staff working for Wyndham Council revealed that for them the role of community centres goes beyond providing venues. Rather, they are actively engaged in reaching out to residents to ensure that diverse communities are engaged and locally connected. Similarly, during the research in WGE, it has been observed that facilities are not confined to perform a specific function, such as schools providing education for children, but often operate beyond their primary role, for example by providing venues for hire and connecting parents. Additionally, residents run home-based businesses that are advertised on social media or in other ways, but are not part of the initial development. Hence, the social environment of MPEs is more complex than the masterplan suggests that simplistically structures the development into residential areas, social facilities and other forms of infrastructure.

b.) Filipino and Indian residents have distinctive aspirations towards living in a MPE

The thesis has presented new insights regarding the lived experience in MPEs by focusing on a specific cohort consisting of residents of Indian or Filipino origin. As argued in the literature review (chapter 2), the aspirations of residents from culturally diverse backgrounds have been insufficiently considered, conveying a significant gap in the knowledge in the context of MPEs. The findings have shown that even though the marketing of MPEs promising a thriving local community did not particularly entice participants to choose to live in a MPE, they have both distinct and varied aspirations for their new place of residence.

With participants of the cohort mostly having moved to Wyndham recently, the study was developed around the hypothesis that the promotion of MPEs to establish a local place-based community could be a reason to move there. However, the findings could not demonstrate any remarkable differences to residents from a non-migrant background moving there, as established in the existing literature (Rosenblatt, Cheshire & Lawrence 2009). The decision to move to a MPE was primarily based on the affordability of houses, rather than on the possible engagement in local social life. Hence, the parochial realm of the estate constitutes not necessarily the only social realm in which participants expect to establish their social networks. Nevertheless, being involved in local communities is relevant for participants. This aspiration is distinctive to the cohort as the local social surrounding has, arguably, a secondary role for socialising in Australian society. Findings have illustrated that participants are seeking a more socially engaging environment. Hence, the shortcomings of MPEs creating more than a 'sense of community' is not based on the indifference to local social interaction by participants, but can rather be explained through diverging manifestations of community.

The experience of the cohort moving to a MPE is distinctive as in several cases their choice of housing can be related to the process of settlement. With the central reason for most participants to move to a MPE being to live in an owner-occupied house, the purchase of a dwelling was related to the selection of the place of residency. The Indian cohort can be characterised as middle-class, as most participants are working in managerial positions in the inner city of Melbourne. Their aspiration of owning a house is related to their ability to only afford a dwelling in an outer suburb and to moving to a MPE, in which the general demographic consists of residents in similar lifestyles. These newly emerging suburbs were regarded as more appealing than the more established areas of Wyndham that have a different demographic. In contrast, for the Filipinos, the choice of living in Wyndham, in comparison to other outer suburbs, was more based on established social networks. Within both groups, the house was mentioned to be an integral part of their migration process to Australia, symbolising their achievement of permanent settlement. The findings exposed that the cohort has specific expectations towards their dwelling. One characteristic of the Indian cohort is their desire to have their parents, at least temporarily, living with them. For the Filipino participants, their involvement in social networks from the same cultural background caused them to see their house as an asset that enables accommodating newly arrived migrants. Hence, for both groups there is a notable reason to own a larger house with multiple bedrooms, which is only affordable in the outer suburbs.

c.) Masterplanned Estates as emerging places foster cultural diversity

As demonstrated in chapter 7, the research has revealed new insights into the accommodation of cultural diversity. As emerging places, MPEs do not impose a pre-established community on new residents moving there. Rather, participants had the feeling that they are part of shaping the place. With MPEs attracting residents from diverse backgrounds, cultural differences were perceived to be more appreciated. In this regard, their experience of living in MPEs is different to other parts of Wyndham. These findings contribute to the discussion on settlement of migrants and the segregation between MPEs and their surroundings.

A distinctive experience of the cohort is the accommodation of cultural diversity in MPEs in comparison to the more established areas of Wyndham. This is related to the evolving social environment, as the MPEs in this study have not been completed and are being developed over a longer period of time. Participants therefore see themselves as an integral part of this development process by establishing local groups and experiencing the place emerging. With these newer suburbs of Wyndham attracting a culturally diverse population, participants expressed that these places are more accommodating to cultural differences than other areas in Wyndham as 'everybody is new'. Instead of adapting to a pre-established community, residents from various backgrounds are shaping the social environment.

With MPEs providing a planned social environment, the study has addressed the settlement of migrants in specific places. Their acculturation is shaped by their local experiences in the new environment. The findings have shown that support networks of other residents from the same cultural background can have importance for local involvement and creating a sense of belonging, in particular for those participants having arrived rather recently in Australia. As discussed in chapter 5.4.6, these social networks may function as an additional layer for socialising and can replace the need for social activities based in the MPEs. Therefore, the role of the parochial realm to achieve bonding between residents should be not exaggerated and diverse local forms of community recognised. Even though the place-making approaches of MPEs influence the social environment, their capacity to plan social outcomes is restricted. Ultimately, their residents through local involvement are constituting multiple, intersecting grounded communities. Many of these have been established by residents from diverse cultural backgrounds and therefore migrants should be seen as active facilitators.

The findings of this study have emphasised the distinction between newly emerging suburbs compared to the more established areas of Wyndham. Even if participants have not necessarily chosen specifically to live in a MPE, their experience of residing and socialising there is distinctive, as argued in chapter 5.2.3. From their perspective, this environment has eased the process of them being part of the local community, fulfilling their aspirations and establishing a sense of belonging. In an initial stage, it is therefore debatable whether the social fragmentation caused by the development of MPEs is necessarily problematic, as criticised in the academic literature. Conversely, the findings suggest that having some local attachment within a conglomerate of demographically diverging places can enhance the integration of culturally diverse needs.

d.) Community is experienced divergently in different social environments

Building on Lofland's (1989b) distinction of the private, parochial and public realms, the thesis provides new directions for analysing grounded communities. This thesis has demonstrated that community can be experienced in different social realms depending on the social environments. For participants, their aspirations and the way they reflect on community being expressed in their background differ from its conceptualisation in MPEs.

This has been explained by emphasising that the developers of MPEs mostly situate community in the parochial realm by providing social infrastructure and promoting social contacts between residents in the estate. In this process, however, the other social realms are curbed. Being developed as distinctive places, MPEs are separated from their surroundings and the public realm. With the role of the house mostly being confined to providing privacy, neighbourly contact is constrained. In contrast, participants have reflected on community being expressed in India or the Philippines through personal networks situated between the private realm of the house and the immediate neighbourhood. These practices of socialising are, however, not necessarily applicable to their new place of residence. Moving to another social environment therefore required them to adapt their social practices and meanings associated with community. As chapter 6 has shown, the acculturation process invoked different responses and strategies and thus varied between individual participants. Drawing on this modification of previously common practices to the new environment, this thesis has outlined that the lived experience of community shifts between the social realms in various ways.

Participants have reshaped the social realms in their place of residency by establishing previously held practices and adjusting others. This finding was illustrated by their activities remodelling the role of the house to integrate more within their surroundings, fostering encounters with neighbours. This resulted in diminishing the set-up distinction between the house and the neighbourhood, creating a socially more interactive environment. However, this was not the case for all participants as others replaced their engagement in the neighbourhood by, instead, building up their social relationships through groups associated with Filipino or Indian culture. As a source for grounded communities, these substitute a more pronounced involvement in the parochial realm of the estate. Even though community is affiliated with the parochial realm by developers of MPEs, the lived experience of residents differs to this conceptualisation.

These findings have demonstrated that social environments situate community differently in social realms. However, their role is not prescriptive and engrained in places, as the social meanings and practices of community can be modified to fit into other conceptualisations. Yet, certain environments enable some forms of community while others may be constrained. In the case of MPEs, community is primarily situated in the parochial realm and less in the private or public realms. This simplified concept of community is restrictive to others and hinders more varied social practices of community to evolve that can foster social cohesion.

e.) 'Learnt capacity' as a new perspective on community

By focusing on migrants moving to a MPE, this research has demonstrated in chapter 7 that social meanings and practices constituting community differ between places. The concept of 'learnt capacity' enables an understanding of the lived experience of community in the transition to a new social environment. In this way, this presents a new perspective on community.

By focusing on the experience of migrants moving to MPEs, the findings have shown that the relationship of residents to grounded communities is shaped by their previous exposure to local social interaction. In their background in India or the Philippines, they have acquired skills and practices that enable them to be involved in this particular social environment. Building on the previous work of Cohen (1985) that focuses on the symbolic construction of community, the thesis provides new directions for analysing the modification of learnt social meanings and practices. This has been exemplified by the focus on the planned social environment of MPEs that, as argued in chapter 2.2.3, situate community specifically in the parochial realm. Social practices that are associated with community situated in other social realms are no longer applicable in this context. For residents having experienced other forms, their capacity to socially interact is confined. Findings have shown that the adaptation process inclines the learning of new social meanings and practices associated with community, as well as altering the environment to accommodate their aspirations.

Therefore, the research postulates that the perspective of community as learnt capacity enables the social involvement in communities and can contribute to enhancing new social environments by bringing along acquired skills, diversifying their social inclusivity by encompassing multiple, intersecting forms of community. Yet, the learnt capacity of residents from a migrant background can be constrained by an alien social environment that impedes it to unfold as social meanings and practices associated with community differ considerably. Within this perspective, community is a (re-)constituted process that is shaped by the capacities of the members to mould it, at the same time as it imposes the learning of associated social meanings and practices that comprise the membership.

Building upon the case study on the lived experience in grounded communities in MPEs, the perspective of 'learnt capacity' relates to other forms of community also. This thesis conceptualises community as a (re-)constituted process that is shaped and renegotiated by its members. Learning the appropriate social meanings and practices is a precondition to be part of any community. To include new members, this (re-)learning of other meanings and practices needs to be facilitated, not extending beyond their capacity. This builds on the recognition that communities can form in many divergent ways and the ability to act within these is not instinctive. By encouraging diversity, communities can draw on diverse capabilities, developing into a more socially inclusive environment.

8.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

The thesis has addressed the challenge MPEs face in efforts to portray and create socially inclusive environments in the development of new residential areas. The findings can be applied to the practice of community development and policies concerning the planning of MPEs, which have been the main sites of enquiry. As emphasised in chapter 6 the social and material environment created in MPEs has influenced the adaptation process of residents from an Indian or Filipino background. By identifying the cohort's distinctive aspirations and experiences of community, the thesis has argued that these are not necessarily congruent with the conceptualisation of community by the developers of MPEs. The following section, therefore, presents the main implications for policy and practice to enable a more socially inclusive environment.

a) Drawing on 'learnt capacity' to develop inclusive communities

The thesis has postulated that experiences of community can be comprehended as a 'learnt capacity'. In particular, this perspective can be applied to the field of community-building in the development of new suburbs. Instead of viewing community as an outcome of the material environment, the findings have shown that communities are shaped by the lived experiences of residents and can emerge in manifold facets. Only by accommodating diverse aspirations and drawing on the 'learnt capacity' of their members, communities can unfold their beneficial social outcomes. Hence, to facilitate the 'learnt capacity' of residents, the role of community development is two-fold:

1.) Enable new residents to learn social meanings and practices associated with community. In the case of MPEs, this could happen by not only providing social facilities, but creating the understanding of their role and accommodating diverse needs. This can entail reaching-out to residents to make them aware of activities and programs in the facilities, supporting them to get in touch locally by encountering other residents. But this process encompasses not only *learning of* community, but *learning to* shape community accordingly, thereby developing shared responsibilities and mutual care. To achieve this, residents need to be the facilitators. For community development this requires a shift from designated spaces to communal spaces that have the potential to be transformed, like community gardens. By providing workshops and facilitating discussion rounds residents can acquire the skills to form these and develop ideas for the local community.

2.) Build-on diverse capacities of residents to strengthen the social environment, for example, by encouraging residents to create more interactive neighbourhoods. This is a process that develops over time and needs to be driven by residents, but can be accelerated by local council. For example, community grants could support activities in the neighbourhood, such as street feasts, that activate spaces, which are not intentionally constructed for social purposes.

b) Enabling more diverse forms of community in MPEs

The focus of MPEs on the parochial realm as the container for local social interaction is problematic as the outer suburban setting constrains the realisation of their social objectives. Limited local employment possibilities and long commuting times, amongst other factors, constrain the ability and desire of residents to make use of existing social activities and facilities. Instead of relying on regulated social interaction in specifically allocated spaces or times, informal encounters between residents should be fostered. With the everyday life of residents centred on the family and home, the role of the house shapes their local social interaction essentially. By easing the distinction between the private realm and the neighbourhood, the house could become a socially more integrative place intersecting with its surroundings, rather than merely providing privacy. For example, building regulations and design guidelines could be less restrictive regarding the front of the house, enabling residents to make use of this space.

However, the incorporation of diverse forms of community extends beyond the initial planning process of structuring the MPE, providing physical infrastructure or setting-up social facilities. The thesis has shown that the lived experiences of migrants are complex as they are engaged in multiple forms of grounded communities. Their modification of their learnt capacity is divergent and, in some cases, has unintended outcomes. To accommodate these diverse and changing needs the scope of planning is limited if it is only implemented through a comprehensive masterplan that pre-determines the function of places and encapsulates the long-term development of the estate.

To integrate diverse learnt capacities towards grounded communities developers of MPEs should not try to create one cohesive, overarching community relying on the provision of social infrastructure or events. Rather, the formation of communities could be the responsibility of residents that may lead to multiple outcomes. Developers can facilitate this process by creating less rigid environments and focus more on temporary approaches, which in some cases is already happening, for example, through pop-up community centres. Hence, an ontological shift is needed from building community to enable intersecting communities to evolve that are not necessarily restricted to the MPE.

c) Broadening options to develop responsive and evolving social environments

The currently prevailing mode of developing new residential land on the urban fringe in Australia in the form of MPEs significantly affects the way local communities can form in these places. Relying almost exclusively on MPEs limits the social environments of these emerging suburbs in Wyndham to pre-defined conceptualisations and homogenising approaches.

The development of entire suburbs in Wyndham emerging as a patchwork of several MPEs causes a spatial fragmentation that is engraved in space. The role of the public realm is undermined as parks and social facilities are located within individual MPEs. With the private developers only responsible for the immediate development of their estate, long-term implications and the connections between MPEs are not taken into account. This has severe implications for creation of an inclusive and socially cohesive environment. For example, the findings have illustrated that the everyday life in the

emerging suburbs of Wyndham structured by MPEs are perceived to be different to the more established areas that can cause these places to be disconnected from each other. Despite these shortcomings of MPEs, the findings of this study have shown that based on the provision of social facilities and the framing of individual estates as distinctive, a shared sense of belonging has formed for some of their residents. However, MPEs driven by the privatised interests of developers cannot be the end-point to develop emerging suburbs.

Overall, this thesis has revealed that the lived experience of residents draws-on multiple, intersecting grounded forms of community. Engaging with the diverse learnt capacities of residents on the local level is essential if ideas of community building are to be more aligned with the actual processes and aspirations of community that are held by migrants who are seeking to live there. Here planning can be pro-active by facilitating communities to evolve and developing long-term visions for a responsive and inclusive social environment.

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APPENDIX

1. List of Publications

Peer-reviewed conference papers:

- Roggenbuck, C 2016, 'Building community in masterplanned estates: No place for culturally diverse aspirations?', in M. Chou (ed.) *Proceedings of the 2016 Annual Conference of the Australian Sociological Association (TASA)*, Melbourne, Australia, 28 November - 1 December 2016, pp. 303-308.
Status: Published
- Roggenbuck, C 2017, 'Aspirations of residents from culturally diverse backgrounds moving to MPEs in newly emerging suburbs', in *State of Australian Cities Conference*. State of Australian Cities Research Network.
Status: Forthcoming, reviews accepted

2. Ethics Approval

Design and Social Context College Human Ethics Advisory Network (CHEAN) Sub-committee of the RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)

Notice of Approval

Date: 27 April 2015

Project number: CHEAN A 0000019248-02/15

Project title: Community as 'learnt capacity' amongst residents with culturally diverse backgrounds in Masterplanned Estates

Risk classification: Low Risk

Investigator: Dr Cecily Maller and Christian Roggenbuck

Approved: From: 27 April 2015 To: 30 September 2017

I am pleased to advise that your application has been granted ethics approval by the Design and Social Context College Human Ethics Advisory Network as a sub-committee of the RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC).

Terms of approval:

1. Responsibilities of investigator

It is the responsibility of the above investigator/s to ensure that all other investigators and staff on a project are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure that the project is conducted as approved by the CHEAN. Approval is only valid whilst the investigator/s holds a position at RMIT University.

2. Amendments

Approval must be sought from the CHEAN to amend any aspect of a project including approved documents. To apply for an amendment please use the 'Request for Amendment Form' that is available on the RMIT website. Amendments must not be implemented without first gaining approval from CHEAN.

3. Adverse events

You should notify HREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.

4. Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF)

The PICF and any other material used to recruit and inform participants of the project must include the RMIT university logo. The PICF must contain a complaints clause including the project number.

5. Annual reports

Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an annual report. This form can be located online on the human research ethics web page on the RMIT website.

6. Final report

A final report must be provided at the conclusion of the project. CHEAN must be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

7. Monitoring

Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by HREC at any time.

8. Retention and storage of data

The investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

In any future correspondence please quote the project number and project title.

On behalf of the DSC College Human Ethics Advisory Network I wish you well in your research.

Suzana Kovacevic

Research and Ethics Officer

College of Design and Social Context

RMIT University

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3. Participant Information and Consent Form



INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Project Title: Community as 'learnt capacity' amongst residents with culturally diverse backgrounds in Masterplanned Estates

Investigators:

- Christian Roggenbuck, Dipl Geo; email: christian.roggenbuck@rmit.edu.au
- Prof. Ralph Horne, PhD, MSc, BSc Hons; email: ralph.horne@rmit.edu.au, phone: 03 9925 348
- Dr. Cecily Maller, PHD, BSc Hons; email: cecily.maller@rmit.edu.au, phone: 03 9925 9091

Dear Resident,

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by RMIT University. Please read this sheet carefully and be confident that you understand its contents before deciding whether to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please ask one of the investigators.

Who is involved in this research project? Why is it being conducted?

My name is Christian Roggenbuck and I am the lead researcher of this project, which is part of my postgraduate studies as PhD-candidate at the School of Global, Urban and Social Studies, RMIT. Other members of the research are my supervisors Professor Ralph Horne (Pro-Vice Chancellor at the College of Design and Social Context, RMIT) and Doctor Cecily Maller (Senior Research Fellow, RMIT). The research has been approved by the RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee.

Why have you been approached?

You and your family have been approached as residents of a planned residential estate and coming from an India or Filipino cultural background.

What is the project about? What are the questions being addressed?

The project will investigate the diverse understandings of community and the relevance of residents' cultural background on expectations towards it. Therefore, the research will ask first of all, which influence previous experiences of community have for selecting Masterplanned Estates as a residential location. Secondly, in which way does the process of settling in a new social environment change these expectations? The project will focus on residents with an Indian and Filipino background, because it is proposed that a person's cultural history has an influence on his or her aspirations of social life. Understanding this is important to create more socially inclusive places. Around 50 participants will be expected to be interviewed.

If I agree to participate, what will I be required to do?

Involvement in the project embraces agreeing to participate in two face-to-face interviews and selecting up to three community events, in which you are involved and which can be observed by the researcher. If you wish, other adult family members can take part in the interviews as well. The research will be digitally audio-recorded and field notes will be taken.

The interviews are estimated to require each around one hour of your time and will be held roughly six months apart from each other. Questions will include your experiences of settling in a Masterplanned Estate and your expectations towards the local community. This might include asking about the perception of your social environment and your experiences of adapting to Australian society, which might be sensitive issues. If these aspects may be too unpleasant for you to talk about, then there is no requirement to discuss these in-depth. The observation of community should deepen the insight of your cultural background and the community activities happening in your local area. Therefore, specific events or public spaces, which constitute community for you, should be selected in your convenience collaboratively with the researcher and the community involvement will be observed.

What are the possible risks or disadvantages?

The possible risks to you are small. There are no perceived risks outside of your normal day-to-day activities and committing around two hours of your time as well as selecting possible community involvement to your convenience.

What are the benefits associated with participation?

It is likely that there will not be any direct benefits for you as the study is researching the relationship between residents and their social environment in a broader context. However, participating in this research provides you with an opportunity to reflect on your own expectations and aspiration towards your local neighbourhood. The interviews will also offer you with an opportunity to discuss your experiences of settling in Australian communities. Overall, the project should deepen the understanding of diverse expectations of community and should make planning more sensitive to residents' diverse cultural backgrounds.

As recognition of your participation in the study and in consideration of the time you will devote being involved you will receive a \$20 voucher after completing the second interview.

What will happen to the information I provide?

Your anonymity and confidentiality will be protected. Personal information and contact details will be stored in a locked, safe environment and electronic data will be password protected. Information gathered through the interviews will only be included in an anonymous form with pseudonyms used so that participants will not be identifiable. All acquired data will be treated with confidentiality and only involved investigators will have access to personal information. Therefore any information that you provide can be disclosed only if (1) it is to protect you or others from harm, (2) if specifically required or allowed by law, or (3) you provide the researchers with written permission.

The project aims to deepen theoretical knowledge and results will be published and disseminated in for example an academic journal or in a conference paper. The final thesis will be findable online in the RMIT Repository, see for reference the thesis of J. Hurley: <http://researchbank.rmit.edu.au/view/rmit:14610>. The data will be kept securely at RMIT for 5 years after publication, before being destroyed. Whereas the final research paper will remain online.

What are my rights as a participant?

- The right to withdraw from participation at any time
- The right to request that any recording cease
- The right to have any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed, provided it can be reliably identified, and provided that so doing does not increase the risk for the participant.
- The right to have any questions answered at any time.

Whom should I contact if I have any questions?

A summary of our outcomes will be provided to all participants, if they wish to receive it. If you have any further questions concerning the research please do not hesitate to contact Christian. For broader topics around the context of the research please contact Cecily or Ralph.

Thank you very much for participating!

Yours sincerely



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If you have any concerns about your participation in this project, which you do not wish to discuss with the researchers, then you can contact the Ethics Officer, Research Integrity, Governance and Systems, RMIT University, GPO Box 2476V VIC 3001. Tel: (03) 9925 2251 or email human.ethics@rmit.edu.au

CONSENT TEMPLATE

1. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the information sheet
2. I agree to participate in the research project as described
3. I agree:
 - to be interviewed
 - that my voice will be audio recorded
4. I acknowledge that:
 - (a) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied (unless follow-up is needed for safety).
 - (b) The project is for the purpose of research. It may not be of direct benefit to me.
 - (c) The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
 - (d) The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The data collected during the study may be published, and a report of the project outcomes will be provided to. Any information which will identify me will not be used.

Participant's Consent

Participant:

Date:

(Signature)

3. Participation Flyer



What is the Research about?

- Your meaning of community
- Your expectations and dreams living in Wyndham
- How your everyday life has changed by moving to Australia

What will I be required to do?

- Take part in two interviews
- Talk about your neighbourhood, everyday life and living in Wyndham
- Show how you are involved in the community

Why should I participate?

- Reflect your aspirations towards the community
- Share your thoughts on settling in Australia
- Identify how your community may develop for the better


The interviews will take around 1 hour each and will be held six months apart. They can be conducted at your home or another location of your convenience.

As a recognition of your participation you will receive a 20\$ voucher.



4. Summary of Findings for Participants

Lived Experience of Community: Insights of Study



I would like to thank all participants taking part in this research project for their insightful contributions! This study has looked at the experience of community of residents from a Filipino and Indian cultural background living in Wyndham. The following will present a short summary of the project and highlight some of the key findings.

About the Study

This study has focused on the everyday social life of residents in new housing estates and their involvement in Filipino and Indian groups in Wyndham. The aim of the study is to understand how people experience community in comparison to the way it is presented by developers of these estates.

To do this I held around 50 interviews with community leaders and residents, who are mostly home-owners living in a residential estate. I also observed everyday life in one specific estate, attended local events in Wyndham and analysed relevant local policy documents. This fieldwork was conducted between June 2015 and January 2017.

Summary of findings

Your insights revealed that social life is experienced in many ways locally. Community centres, schools and public parks offer the opportunity to meet other residents. Though with work and the commute taking up much of the weekday, social activities are mostly home-centred. In many cases, residents seek to engage with neighbours more frequently. However, this is not always possible. An often mentioned reason is that privacy is a main concern and neighbours are not regularly outside. This stands in contrast to the marketing of many residential estates that promote an active environment.

Also Wyndham is continuing to grow attracting more residents from diverse backgrounds. The findings of the study show that many new residents are active members in shaping the place, for example, by setting-up social groups, volunteering for churches or NGOs and engaging in the local council. This is particularly the case in newer suburbs, like Manor Lakes or Point Cook. With 'everybody being new' all residents can be part of the development of

these places. There cultural differences are perceived to be able to be sustained, instead of needing to adjust to a pre-existing community.

In Wyndham many different facilities, social groups and practices associated with Filipino and Indian culture exist as your insights explained. Festivities, food, religion and sport were commonly mentioned aspects connecting people from an Indian or Filipino background. Although these may not be important for daily life and have a different relevance for everyone. Also, neither the Indian nor Filipino population should be seen as one cohesive group as many local or regional identities exist. Nevertheless, sharing the same cultural background with others can be an important resource to draw on. In particular, in the initial settlement period or for special occasions these networks are helpful.

An often mentioned problem is that the development of infrastructure is lagging behind the growth of the population. This results in residents experiencing long commute times, missing basic social facilities and feeling socially isolated.

Future suggestions

The findings of this study suggest that community can be experienced differently. Therefore, it is not enough to run a few events or set-up community centres and expect residents to participate. Rather, people from diverse backgrounds are already shaping local social life in many ways. Engaging with these differences can create an intercultural understanding.

Here planning can be pro-active by developing long-term visions and facilitating this, instead of merely solving demand issues regarding lacking infrastructure. This would allow diverse communities to develop alongside others accomodating various needs.

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